

THE HOLY SPIRIT

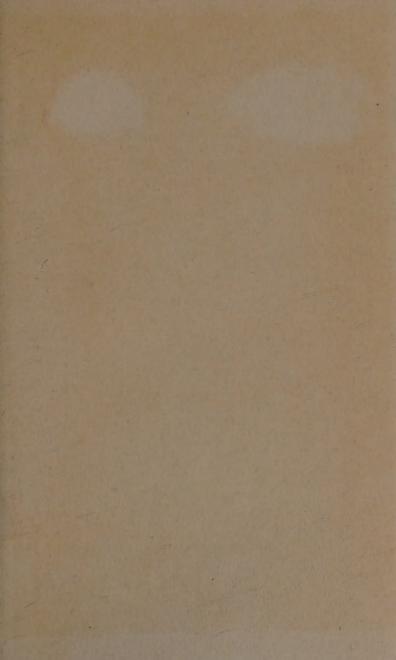
IN FAITH AND EXPERIENCE

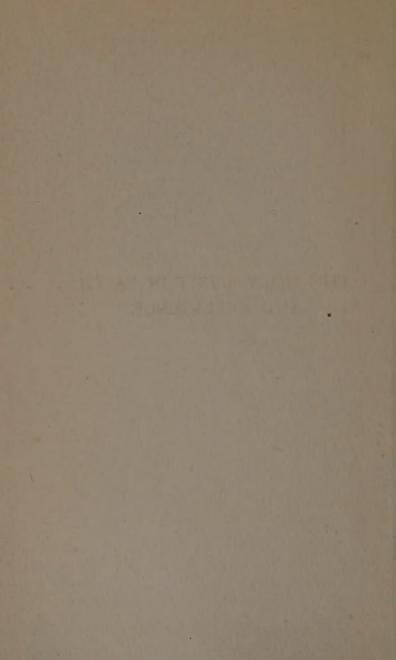
A. LEWIS HUMPHRIES



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THE HOLY SPIRIT IN FAITH AND EXPERIENCE

THE HOLY SPIRIT

FAITH AND EXPERIENCE

BY

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PREFACE

THE author of this volume cannot claim, as his justification for issuing it, that there is a dearth of books on the Holy Spirit. On that subject there have been issued many volumes of varying degrees of value and interest, and of diverse types,-doctrinal, exegetical, devotional, -and to add another to the list seems almost presumptuous. Nevertheless, apart from the interest which he has long felt in the subject, the writer has the impression that there is a place for a discussion of the doctrine of the Spirit which aims to be not merely exegetical but critical. The first and clearest duty of any Christian teacher towards the Bible is to understand it, to realise with sympathy the point of view of its writers, to put himself inside, so to speak, their doctrinal conceptions. But his next and scarcely less imperative duty is to supplement comprehension with criticism, and to ask how far the Biblical presentation of a certain belief or experience can stand without qualification in the light of to-day. In the field of exegesis much excellent work on the subject of the Holy Spirit has already been done, and that of this the present writer has been gratefully mindful will, he hopes, sufficiently appear in the foot-notes which mark the ensuing pages. But he has been made to feel that much Biblical exegesis on this subject is open to the criticism that mere words have been allowed to count for too much, and sufficient care has not always

been taken to get beneath them to the facts of experience—not necessarily the same in nature because described by the same terms—of which the words were an imperfect expression. Moreover, there is a further direction in which the interpretation of the Biblical teaching concerning the Spirit has required to be made more scientific. Since that teaching is concerned with spiritual experience, it is vital to its true comprehension that it should be surveyed in the light which psychology has been so generously casting upon the inner side of man's religious life. That task, to such extent as seemed possible, has been essayed in this volume, not, the author would fain hope, without resulting in the exposure of certain grievous errors, and in the assertion of a truer scale of values.

On the critical side there is yet another consideration by which this discussion has been controlled. It is undeniable that religious thought is moving in a more spacious atmosphere. The whole problem of religion has been lifted to a higher plane. Christian thinkers have come to realise, as never before, the meaning and practical significance of Christ's doctrine of God, and, at the same time, without in the least sacrificing their convictions as to the absolute worth of Christianity and the necessity of its world-wide diffusion, they have been led, through the science of Comparative Religion, to see truth and worth in other faiths. There can be no doctrine on which such achievements more powerfully react than on that of the Holy Spirit. For if the Spirit, as realised in experience, is simply God moving upon man for the bestowal of truth and life, there can be no presentation of the Spirit deserving to be called either scientific or Christian, which does not bring into one large synthesis the Spirit's

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operation not simply in some particular community of Christians, but in all who profess the Christian name, and in the broad field of the human race. A grievous wrong is inflicted on truth when the part is treated as if it were the whole.

Yet further, the facts of revelation and the characteristics of religious experience have both made it clear that man, in receiving the Holy Spirit for the purpose of either truth or life, has been active rather than passive, with the result that the product needs to be interpreted in terms of both man and God. It is conditioning of the Holy Spirit by man which gives such actuality and fascination to the study of the Divine activity in the world, especially in the sphere of religious truth. It is a great gain that the magical theory of inspiration has been replaced by one which, viewing inspiration as vital and dynamical, is at once more agreeable to reason, truer to the facts, and more worthy of both the Inspirer and the inspired.

Such are some of the convictions, due, as he believes, to the Spirit of God, under which the author has wrought in the preparation of this volume. If the title he has assigned to it seems open to criticism, on the ground that the "Faith and Experience" in which the Holy Spirit has been exhibited are mainly those reflected within the Bible, he would, on the one hand, plead the limitations of space, which have forbidden a larger discussion, and, on the other hand, urge that most of what the Bible discloses to us on this subject is typical and can, as is more than once shown, be paralleled in later days. His aim, whatever his success, has been to keep the discussion of this important subject in touch with reality. He

sends this volume forth, not blind to its shortcomings, but hopeful that it may in some measure serve the interests of both truth and charity, and so glorify Him of whose manifold activity, present and past, it has attempted to speak.

Whitsuntide 1911

PUBLISHERS' FOREWORD

This volume ran out of print after having had a limited circulation, and the General Committee of the Student Christian Movement regarding it as of unusual value, and being confirmed in this view by the advice of several expert theologians, has secured the right to reprint and circulate this edition, which it does in the belief that it will receive a warm welcome.

September 1917

ABBREVIATIONS

In the main the abbreviations employed are the usual ones, and none, therefore, require explanation except the following:—D.C.G. = The Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels; Ency. Bitl. = Encyclopædia Biblica; Ency. Brit. = Encyclopædia Briannica; Expos. Greek Test. = Expositor's Greek Testament; H.D. = Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible; Inter. Crit. Comm = International Critical Commentary.

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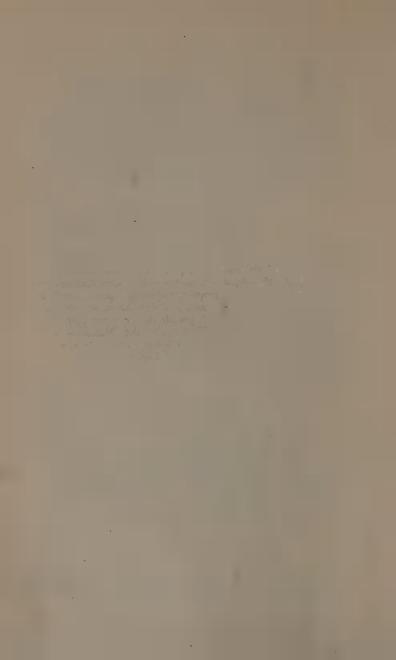
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I THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE PRE-CHRISTIAN AGE



CHAPTER I

The Old Testament Doctrine of the Spirit

THE notion that God is a Spirit can be traced in more religions than one, but the conception of a Spirit in God is, in any developed form, found only in the Scriptures. For the origin of that idea we must go back to that imperfectly explored region where natural religion and revelation meet and commingle. It is a fact of considerable importance that the word ruah, which in Hebrew expresses "Spirit" when associated with God. had, like the equivalent term pneuma in Greek, the double meaning of "breath" and "wind." Of these meanings it would seem, so far as the Hebrew word is concerned, that "wind" was the earlier of the two, and that it was connected, in the first instance, with God. For an examination of the Old Testament,1 following the probable order of the documents which have gone towards its composition, shows that the earliest word used for "breath" in relation to man is nephesh, which speedily acquired the further signification of the "breath-soul," or principal of life, for the obvious reason that with human beings and animals breathing was the most evident sign of life, and ceased when death supervened. The word ruah, however, had, to begin with, a more specialised meaning. Denoting "wind." which primitive religious fancy, construing

¹ See the detailed statement in Prof. H. W. Robinson's Article in Mansfield College Essays, pp. 269-277.

God after the fashion of man, naturally regarded as the Divine "breath." the ruah of God was less a proof of life than a token of disposition. It would be obviously with the wind in its more violent and destructive moods, when it uprooted the trees or beat down the crops, that the primitive mind would be most profoundly impressed. In the violent and fitful gusts of the stormblast man would read the anger of his deity. Hence the notion of the unusual and abnormal was easily attached to "Spirit" from the very first. The "Spirit" was God in the exercise of power, God manifesting Himself in some dramatic and arresting way. It would seem to be on this analogy that ruah, when it came to be applied to man, denoted the stronger emotions of anger, or grief, or zeal. It has been pointed out 4 how frequently the word, even when it has to be translated "breath," is associated with the nostrils, as if to suggest that the "blowing" of the wind had its parallel in the dilated nostrils or panting of human beings in excitement or distress. What a critical examination, therefore, of the Old Testament brings to light is that the word nephesh, or "soul," which is freely applied to man, is never associated with God. The Hebrew writers never refer to God having a "soul," though it seemed natural to them that He should have a "Spirit." Because, too, of the special connotation which ruah, as realised in God, possessed, it seems, so far as it was applied to man in pre-exilic writings, to have denoted the manifest energy of life,5 or some unusual exhibition of feeling; 6 or it described some external

¹ Judges viii. 3. ² Gen. xxvi. 35. ³ Haggai i. 14. ⁴ Prof. Robinson (*Op. cit.*, p. 272) cites as instances 2 Sam. xxii. 16, Psa. xviii. 15, Ex. xv. 8, Job. iv. 9.

⁵ Gen. xlv. 27; I Kings x. 5.

⁶ Judges viii. 3.

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influence having its source in God which, when it operated upon man, created phenomena, or rendered possible some achievement, which fell within the bounds of the abnormal.1 A detailed examination of these references will be furnished later, but, in the meantime, the connexion of ruah with the unusual in man is of prime importance for the investigation on which we have embarked. It is quite true that after the Exile the distinction between it and nephesh faded somewhat, for we find both terms used by Ezekiel to denote the normal "breath-soul" or principle of life in man. Nevertheless, the notion of the abnormal was always in the background of its meaning, and was revived the more easily because of the continued association of ruah with God. Hence it will be seen how important it is that, in the detailed examination of the word, we should observe the stage of religious reflection at which a particular use of it appears.

The Spirit of God, therefore, as first apprehended, was the Energy which, belonging to the Divine Being, was seen to be operative in nature and man. There one of its associations was with the origin and sustenance of life. The first of the two stories of Creation describes the Spirit of God as "brooding" over the formless waste of primeval chaos and evolving from it order and life.² Moreover, that which the Spirit creates it also sustains and preserves, and hence the Psalmist attributes both Creation and the renewal of the face of the ground to the sending forth of the Spirit by God.³ The Spirit, according to the prophetic picture, was to retain these functions even in the Messianic age. For in addition

⁸ Gen. i. 2.

¹ E.g., insanity (1 Sam. xvi. 14), prophetic frenzy (1 Sam. x. 5, 6), or abnormal strength (Judges xiv. 6).

⁸ Psa. civ. 30.

to the re-constitution of Israel's national life within the bounds of Palestine,—a boon which Ezekiel in his vision of the Valley of dry bones looks for from the bestowal by God of His Spirit, 1—there was to be social plenty arising from the increased fertility of nature, and for this an earlier prophet 2 had declared that the nation, desolate and impoverished, would have to wait "until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest." As it was with nature, so was it also with man. That primitive fragment of mythology found imbedded in the Book of Genesis 3 where God is represented as saying, "My Spirit shall not rule in man for ever," contemplates the reduction of man to "flesh" by the withdrawal of the Spirit, and the consequent limitation of the span of human life to one hundred and twenty years. That passage, however, even if the text were less open to suspicion, refers, not to ordinary men, but to those mythical beings, half human and half divine, who were the fruit of the union of "the sons of God," i.e., beings belonging to the Divine plane of existence, with "the daughters of men." Semi-divinity was regarded as carrying with it a potential immortality, and hence God is described as limiting, with relation to these fabled beings, the indwelling of His Spirit, which in this instance is identified with the Divine essence derived from their relationship to "the sons of God." In the case of ordinary men, though it is by the action of God that man, in the first instance, becomes "a living soul," 4 it is not until after the Exile

¹ Ezek. xxxvii. 14. ² Isa. xxxii. 15.

³ Gen. vi. 1-4. For a full discussion of the passage see Skinner, Genesis (Inter. Crit. Comm.).

⁴ Gen. ii. 7. The word used for "breath" in that passage is neshamah.

that the Spirit of God is spoken of as the animating principle of normal human life. God giveth "spirit to them that walk" in the earth,1 or "formeth the spirit of man within him." 2 Not only is this life-principle viewed, e.g., by Elihu,3 as the product of the Spirit of God, but the two are even identified, so that man's breath-soul is a fragment struck off, so to speak, from the Spirit of God and finding a temporary dwellingplace in man.4 Death, on that conception, means the withdrawal from man of the Divine Spirit which, when withdrawn, is gathered back to Himself by God,5 or returns to God who gave it.6 That view, however, which raises questions as to the separateness of human personality, only belongs to a particular phase of Old Testament thought, the general tendency of which, whilst regarding human life as due to the action of God, was simply to associate any abnormal manifestations of that life with the Spirit. Thus the Egyptians are spoken of 7 as "men, and not God," and their horses as "flesh, and not spirit," i.e., they are weak and ineffectual. The mighty feats, too, achieved by Samson are described 8 as due to the coming upon him of "the Spirit of the Lord," this representation being of special value, since it shows how unethical it was possible for the early conception of the Spirit to be.

Further, the Spirit of God in the Old Testament is associated with the activity of the intellect. Sometimes the reference is quite general, as, e.g., where Elihu says: 9 "There is a Spirit in man, and the breath of the Almighty giveth them understanding." But that

² Zech. xii, I. ¹ Isa. xlii. 5. 4 Tob xxvii. 3. 3 Job xxxiii. 4.

Psa. civ. 29. Lit. "Thou gatherest in their breath."

⁷ Isa. xxxi. 3. 6 Eccles. xii. 7. 9 Job xxxii 8. 8 Judges xiv. 19.

passage is post-exilic, and reflects the tendency existing at the time in certain quarters to universalise the operation of the Spirit. The main stream of the Old Testament thought appears in the ascription to the Spirit of intellectual powers which transcended normal limits, or that had in them an element of the inexplicable or "uncanny." The farmer, according to Isaiah,1 exercises a shrewd discrimination in his methods of agriculture because "the Lord of hosts, which is wonderful in counsel," doth teach him. The Spirit of God directed the making of the high-priestly robes of Aaron,2 and supplied the artistic skill with which Bezalel fashioned the tabernacle.3 Moreover, in days when national organisation was extremely elementary, individual personality could count for more, and hence in a crisis the freedom and well-being of the nation might turn upon the statesmanship or daring of a single individual. Quite naturally, therefore, did such qualities, when they appeared, become attributed to the Spirit. Joseph, because of the shrewd policy which he outlines, is pronounced to be a man in whom "the Spirit of God is," 4 and of the seventy elders who were appointed to share with Moses responsibility of the oversight of Israel, we are told that "the Lord took of the Spirit which was upon Moses, and put it upon" them,5 its reception, according to the story, being attended by phenomena akin to those which later were associated with prophetic frenzy. The Spirit as the equipment for leadership, a faculty which, as Dr. Dale remarks, 6 has always in it an element of the mysterious, is bestowed on Joshua,7 on judges like Othniel,8 Gideon,9

⁸ Judges iii. 10. ⁹ Judges vi. 34.

7 Deut. xxxiv. 9.

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and Jephthah, and also on Saul, and David, on their designation to office. It is interesting to note that Gideon's campaign against Midian and Saul's against Ammon 4 are said to be due to the coming of the Spirit upon those national leaders. We should infer, therefore, that it was not skill in war which was traced to the Spirit so much as the patriotic passion which could generate enthusiasm and enable a man to rally the nation to his banner. The discretion of Solomon in the administration of justice was felt to be præternatural and to be due to his possession of "the wisdom of God." 5 On the other hand, the shortsighted politicians of Judah who, in face of peril from Assyria, were disposed to resort to an alliance with Egypt, have woe pronounced upon them by God through the lips of Isaiah, 6 their fault being, as God says, that "they take counsel, but not of Me, and cover with a covering, but not of my Spirit." Their statesmanship was futile, because it was uninspired.

With just administration, the power of leadership, and a wise national policy all viewed as coming within the sphere of the Spirit of God, it was easy for the prophets, when drawing the picture of the ideal King, to regard the surpassing intellectual gifts with which they invested him as due to his reception of the Spirit. "The Spirit of the Lord," says Isaiah, "shall rest upon him." What that Divine afflatus was to involve is expressed in the explanatory phrases which follow, where the Messianic equipment is described as "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might," the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the

¹ Judges xi. 29.

⁴ I Sam. xi. 6.

⁶ Isa. xxx. I.

² I Sam. x. 10.

³ I Sam. xvi. 13.

⁵ I Kings iii. 28.

⁷ Isa, xi, 2.

Lord." In other words, the Divine endowment is to consist of penetrating insight, sagacious grasp of a situation, and the power of effective decision. It will be seen, therefore, that, while moral integrity and the practice of religion are suggested by "the fear of the Lord," the gifts derived by the Messiah from the Spirit are, in Isaiah's forecast, largely intellectual and practical. But the Messiah was to exercise prophetic, as well as kingly, functions, and in prophecy we come to an intellectual sphere which was regarded in Old Testament times as most conspicuously belonging to the Spirit of God. The whole subject will receive more detailed treatment later,1 but, in the meantime, it may be pointed out that one type of prophet is actually described as "the man of the Spirit," 2 whilst God's prolonged and historic remonstrance with His people through the prophets is ascribed to the Spirit,3 and more than once a prophetic message is prefaced by a statement concerning its author to the effect that "the Spirit of the Lord came upon" him.4 The prophet was a man who felt that, on the ground of His intimate communion with God, he was intellectually qualified to interpret the Divine will as well as specially commissioned to declare it, this double claim being expressed in the statement one prophet 5 makes concerning himself, "The Lord God hath sent me and (i.e., with) His Spirit." With the commission there had been bestowed the Energy necessary for its discharge. Similarly, God is described 6 as saying concerning the Suffering Servant, "I have put my Spirit upon him," in connexion with his mission to bring forth judgment to the nations, i.e.,

¹ See Ch. II.

³ Neh. ix. 30. Cf. Zech. vii. 12.

⁵ Isa, xlviii, 16.

² Hosea ix. 7.

^{4 2} Chron. xv. I, xx. I4, xxiv. 20.

⁶ Isa. xlii. I.

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to secure the universal diffusion of the true religion. Those words, whatever their primary reference, finally received a Messianic application, the Spirit then representing the holy chrism which, required for the Messiah as king, was necessary for Him also as prophet. It was undoubtedly after this fashion that Jesus Himself interpreted His anointing by the Spirit, for in the synagogue at Nazareth He read another great prophetic word 1 beginning, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me," and then added, to the amazement of His hearers, "This day hath this Scripture been fulfilled in your ears." 2 What, therefore, a survey of the whole trend of Old Testament teaching makes clear to us is that all unusual intellectual gifts, whether belonging to artist or artificer, statesman or prophet, king or Messiah, are viewed as inspired by the Spirit of God. So prominent is His activity in this direction that there is truth, on the Old Testament presentation, in the contention of Gregory of Tours, that the Holy Spirit is the "God of the intellect more than of the heart." In any case, that conception, however partial we may regard it, is so far endorsed by the peculiar association of the Spirit with truth in the teaching of Jesus 3 as to discredit the superficial notion that the "baptism of the Spirit" can be a substitute on the part of the Christian minister for a worthy intellectual equipment. We do not always realise that "the foolishness of preaching" is one thing, and foolish preaching another.

The most surprising fact in the Old Testament doctrine of the Spirit is the almost complete absence of any

² Luke iv. 21.

¹ Isa. lxi. 1, 2. The original reference was probably, not to the Suffering Servant, but to the prophet himself. See Skinner's note sub, loc., and Kirkpatrick, The Doctrine of the Prophets, p. 404. 3 John xiv. 26, xvi. 13.

reference to Him as the source of piety and moral excellence. Indeed to those who come to the Old Testament with presuppositions derived from the New, it is startling to read of "an evil spirit from the Lord" 1 (called even "an evil spirit of God" in a text of one passage2), coming upon Saul, and to be told that the Lord had put "a lying spirit" into the mouth of the false prophets who urged Ahab to his doom. The explanation of such language may be that religious reflection had not yet distinguished between what God permitted and what He ordained,4 nor had it yet risen, as it did later through the influence of Persian dualism, to the conception of a hostile agency standing over against God to which all malevolent operation upon man was traced.5 So far as the false prophets of I Kings xxii. are concerned, Prof. G. A. Smith 6 thinks that the language reflects the reverence in which supposed prophets were held in that even their lies were thought to be inspired. But, granting that too often the activity of the Spirit was recognised more largely in the outwardly arresting than in the morally beautiful, it is, nevertheless, significant that the historian should set, as it were, in contrast "the Spirit of the Lord" which had departed from Saul, and the "evil spirit from the Lord" which troubled him. It would seem as though even then some approach to ethical distinction had been made. An evil spirit could be viewed as from God and belonging to Him, inasmuch as it was created by God and was subject to His control; but,

¹ I Sam. xvi. 14.
² In the LXX. of I Sam. xix. 9.
³ I Kings xxii. 23.
⁴ Schultz, O.T. Theology, ii., p. 204 f.

³ I Kings xxii. 23. ⁴ Schultz, O.T. Theology, ii., p. 204 f. ⁵ So that David's numbering of the people, which in 2 Sam. xxiv. I is prompted by God, is in the later account (I Chron. xxi. I) ascribed to Satan.

⁶ The Book of the Twelve Prophets, i., p. 28.

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on the other hand, the phrase, "the Spirit of the Lord," is, according to Wellhausen, restricted to the operative presence of God Himself, and the Spirit partakes, there-

fore, of the holy character of God.

So far, however, as such a conception finds any overt expression, it is confined wholy to the later literature of the Old Testament. Twice 1 is the Spirit of God called "holy," but too much stress cannot be laid upon that epithet in itself, for while Prof. Cheyne regards it as pointing to the Spirit as the energising principle of the Divine holiness, Dr. Davidson 3 has shown that. in harmony with general Semitic usage, "holy" was often simply equivalent to "divine," marking that to which it was applied as belonging to God, but leaving moral quality undefined.4 We get a more assured predication of moral excellence in the phrase, "Thy good Spirit," which describes the Divine power as it had exhibited itself in God's discipline of Israel. Indirectly, too, an ethical ministry is assigned to the Spirit, for, just as Ezekiel 6 supplements the Divine promise, "I will put My Spirit within you," with the words, "and cause you to walk in My statutes," so it cannot be a mere accident that the Psalmist's petition,7 "Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me," whatever the precise meaning of the term "holy" there, comes right on the heels of his prayer for a clean heart and a stedfast spirit. Moreover, what the realisation of God's presence meant, when there was associated with it a high doctrine of the Divine holiness, is seen in the Psalm in which the poet sings of

-5 Neh. ix. 20.

² The Origin of the Psalter, p. 322. ¹ Psa. li. 11, Isa. lxiii. 10-11.

³ The Book of Ezekiel, p. xxxix.

⁴ See also Dr. W. T. Davison, The Indwelling Spirit, p. 154. 7 Psa. li. 10-11. ⁶ Ezek, xxxvi, 27.

the omnipresence of God.¹ "Whither," says he, "shall I go from Thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?" The presence which he cannot escape is clearly, as he describes it, that of a God who understands His thoughts afar off, searches him, besets him behind and before. In other words, it is the presence of One who brings home to man his sinfulness as that is revealed in the penetrating light of the Divine holiness. It cannot but be confessed, however, that this meagre recognition of the ethical ministry of the Spirit is a defect of the Old Testament for which, more than anything else, there was needed in this connexion the corrective and supplementary teaching of the New.

One other fact needing to be recorded is that in the Old Testament we can find no assured evidence of a belief in the personality of the Spirit. We look there in vain for any statement of the later Trinitarian faith. To discern adumbrations of it in those passages where the Spirit and the word,2 the Divine breath and the Divine voice,³ are associated is surely a refinement of exegesis, for the phrase "God said," as applied to the various stages of creation, means no more than that each was an expression of the Divine thought and will, whilst the Spirit was the efficient cause in their realisation. Similarly, though the "word" and the "Spirit" 5 are, through being "sent," described as effecting some redeeming or creative purpose of God, and so acquire a quasi-independence, the language is in every such instance that of poetry, and simply conveys, when reduced to prose, that what takes place is an expression of the Divine mind, or a product of the Divine activity. To read into such expressions that hypostasis of the

¹ Psa. cxxxix.

² Gen. i. 2, 3.

³ Psa. xxxiii. 6.

⁴ Psa. cvii. 20.

⁵ Psa. civ. 30.

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Word or the Spirit which we find in the New Testament is to be ensnared by merely verbal analogies. It is significant that the phrase, "the Holy Spirit," which occurs so frequently in the New Testament, is never found in the earlier Scriptures. "The Spirit of the Lord" is found repeatedly, or the word "Spirit" with possessives such as "my," 1" thy," 2" his," 3 this latter form of expression, especially when contrasted with New Testament usage, half suggesting that the Spirit was viewed, not as a separate centre of thought, feeling and will in the being of the One God, but as a sort of appendage to the Divine nature. To Old Testament thinkers the Holy Spirit was God in the exercise of power, an Energy or influence which, having its source in God, was felt to be in contact with man. The connexion of the Source with that which went forth from it was so far maintained that to be where the Energy was operating was to be where God was present, and hence the Psalmist, according to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, expresses the same thought in two different ways when he says: "Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?"4 The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament is God felt by man at the point of impact, it is the manifested Energy of a personal God. Passages which seem to go beyond this, and permit a semi-independence to the Spirit, are found simply in that section of prophecy assigned to the Trito-Isaiah. One saying, which has sometimes been cited in this connexion, viz., "The Lord God hath sent me and His Spirit," 5 is really

¹ Ezek. xxxvi. 27. ³ Isa. lxiii. 10.

² Psa. li. II. ⁴ Psa. cxxxix. 7.

⁵ Isa. xlviii. 16. Delitzsch (Commentary on Isaiah, ii., p. 215) says that the Spirit never appears co-ordinated with Yahweh as co-sender, but with the agent as co-sent. Cp. Skinner sub. loc.

irrelevant, since, according to its true interpretation, the Spirit is there associated, not with God as the Sender, but with the prophet as the Sent. The prophet in the endowment of a Divine energy has the authentication of His Divine commission. Elsewhere, however, the Spirit of the Lord is described as bringing Israel to its appointed resting-place in Canaan,1 His presence within the nation being disclosed through Moses and other chosen organs of the mind of God. The language of the whole passage is that of reminiscence, the nation, as it reviews it's history, feeling that God had turned away "because they rebelled, and grieved His Holy Spirit," 2 i.e., as the previous verse shows, God in His manifested presence. To "grieve" or "vex" the Spirit is to resist His guidance, to disobey the Divine message which He inspires. It has been claimed that in this expression the Old Testament comes nearest to a conception of the Spirit as a Person, for whilst a Power or an Energy can be resisted, only a Person, so it is urged, can be grieved. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the language which is being interpreted is that of poetry, and may exhibit, therefore, simply such a personification as is permitted to poetic license, this view being the more credible inasmuch as elsewhere other attributes of the Divine nature are hypostatised. The Psalmist, for example, speaks of the light and truth of God as leading men,3 and asks God to send forth His mercy and truth.4 Finally, when, as we shall see, an impersonal conception of the Spirit appears in the New Testament side by side with the presentation of the Spirit as a Person, it is simplest

¹ Isa, lxiii, 14. In Isa, lix, 19 the true translation is, "For he shall come as a rushing stream which the breath of the Lord driveth."

¹ Isa, lxiii, 10.

³ Psa, xliii, 3.

⁴ Psa, lvii, 3.

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to explain the former view as the survival in later thought of what had been the prevalent doctrine of the earlier dispensation. It is as a Power, and not also as a Person, that the Holy Spirit was recognised by man in pre-Christian thought and life.

CHAPTER II

The Old Testament Experience of the Spirit

HITHERTO we have been simply considering the Holy Spirit in so far as He came to articulate expression in Old Testament thought. But the doctrine thus expressed was simply an attempt to rationalise and report an experience. There were certain facts in both national and individual life which lewish thinkers recognised as due to God making a great approach to man, and they spoke of God at the point of impact as the Spirit. But an experience is one thing, its interpretation is another. The latter not only comes later in time, but, true to the law of development, is at first only worked out in a fragmentary way. Consequently, as we go back to the Old Testament age, taking to it that fuller conception of the Holy Spirit and His work with which later reflection has enriched us, we behold many religious phenomena as to whose source the Old Testament, when it does not ascribe them quite generally to God, is silent, but which we recognise as tokens of the presence and operation of the Spirit of God. Then, as now, religious experience was larger than man's comprehension and expression of it, and we only derive from the Old Testament all that it has to teach us when, going beyond its language, we observe how it exhibits the Holy Spirit actually at work. There are four great spheres in which we may detect His activity.

A.—THE SPIRIT IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

One of the most conspicuous of these spheres is the history of Israel. We are made to feel, as we read the historical books of the Old Testament, that what their writers are seeking to give to us is the history of an inspired people. That explains why the opening book, though it begins on an ample stage, sketching the origin of the earth and the fortunes of the race as a whole, gradually narrows its scope until it and all the subsequent records become concerned with the story of one man and the race which sprang from him. As we read we feel that it is not ordinary history which is being recounted, but the story of a people who have the sense of a vocation, the motif underlying the narrative being an attempt to show how Israel was made to understand her vocation and trained to discharge it. It is this fact which gives permanent significance to what, from the ordinary standpoint, was a feeble unit in the comity of nations, a negligible Semitic tribe dwelling in an insignificant portion of the East. For this obscure nation has had the unique glory of giving Christianity to the world. It was as a child of this nation that Jesus was born; it was to it and by it that Christianity was first preached; it is only in Christ that the religious history of Israel finds its true explanation. For, as we turn back to the records, we are made to see that Christ is the goal towards which the nation is being led, and that it is with Him and Christianity that Israel, through all the centuries of her religious development, is in travail. We perceive that we are dealing with a nation which

[&]quot;The history and literature of Judaism is a Messianic prophecy from beginning to end" (Illingworth, Reason and Revelation, p. 157).

has been the subject of a Divine vocation and discipline so unique that it can be said that God hath not dealt so with any people. Obviously the nation itself, whilst the discipline was in progress, was not so clearly informed as we are as to the end for which it was being trained. But that is because the end was not yet in sight, and hence the realisation of it, even by the greatest souls, had all the limitations which attach to prophetic forecast. But however lacking in clearness of detail the perception of it may be, the fact of a Divine calling penetrates the Old Testament through and through, and is the key by which national experience is constantly interpreted. It is in the providential guidance of the nation and in the Divine movement within it that the Deutero-Isaiah sees the operation of the Holy Spirit; 1 indeed the entire passage referred to is simply a statement of the inner meaning of Israel's history and of the vicissitudes which had marked it. Inspiration belongs not simply to the records but to the history itself.

It is one of the gains from modern scholarship that it has brought out this truth with increased clearness. It has been shown how closely Israel was knit with her Semitic neighbours. Not simply can the relations between Israel and Yahweh be paralleled by those seen to obtain between other Semitic nations and their deities, e.g., between Moab and Chemosh, but the parallel applies also to religious rites and customs, these being in part a legacy which Israel brought with her from the larger Semitic family out of which she sprang. The religious uniqueness which ultimately attached to Israel was not hers at the first. There survived even into late stages of her religious life rites and institutions which reflected a primitive, and even a savage, state of religious

culture. The sacredness assigned to definite places, or to natural objects such as stone-pillars, trees and springs; the customs of blood-revenge and circumcision; the avoidance of certain practices and foods as unclean; the presentation in various ways of sacrifices so as to conciliate the deity, or establish fellowship with him,these were ideas and customs which, however they became superseded or purified in the later history of Israel, were at first the common property of the entire Semitic stock. Moreover, in that legal code drawn up for his subjects by Khammurabi, king of Babylon, about 1900 B.C., 1 some striking similarities have been detected between it and that oldest section of the Pentateuchal legislation known as the Book of the Covenant.² The precise significance of these resemblances is still under discussion, but the general inference seems permissible that both pieces of legislation embody in the form of legal enactment customs which drew their sanction from long-established usage. Now to the student of religion it is these close correspondences with her neighbours at the first which make Israel's ultimate divergence from them so wonderful. For as to the fact of that divergence there can be no question. Religion instead of remaining natural and tribal, a bond between the nation and its god so limited and mechanical that the existence of both was necessary to the existence of either, rose with Israel to the ethical plane, so that Yahweh was seen to be a God more concerned for righteousness than for the preservation of His people, -able, indeed, to afford in the humilation and dispersion of His people the surest evidence of His holiness and might. No other Semitic nation made that religious advance

¹ Or 2100 B.C. The exact date is uncertain.

² Ex. xx-xxiii.

and the ultimate isolation of Israel from her neighbours is so remarkable, in view of her original affinity with them, that it can only be ascribed to the activity of the Spirit of God. That, of course, is not the whole explanation, for what we have come to believe is that even the Holy Spirit does not act arbitrarily, but proceeds according to principles which lift the Divine action above any suspicion of favouritism. It is one of the fundamental features of the religion of Israel that the bond between the nation and God is not physical, Yahweh being, so to speak, the father of the nation, but ethical. Yahweh is Israel's God because she on God's part has been the object of His gracious love, whilst the nation, again, because it has been thus privileged, has committed itself to certain religious obligations. In other words, the bond between Israel and Yahweh is of the nature of a Covenant. That idea alone contained within it the promise of all the subsequent development, for the conception was so unique as to show that the people capable of forming it had a peculiar genius for religion, and so might fittingly become the medium through which the God of the whole race might furnish the revelation which, though given to a single race to begin with, was meant through that race to become the heritage of all. That genius for religion seems to go far back. Through the discipline of a great deliverance and the influence of a commanding personality such as Moses, it may have grown capable at Sinai of a new and memorable advance, but if we are to find any substance of truth in the stories of the patriarchs, it was a special religious sensitiveness, a peculiar consciousness of God, exemplified first of all, as we may believe, in a great soul like Abraham, which drew the Hebrew clan away from the distractions of a corrupt civilisation, in order that, amid the rude simplicity of pastoral conditions, it might nourish its sense of God and work out a destiny of its own. In other words. it was the moral intensity of those pastoral Semites which justified God's choice of them as the people of revelation.

But if the activity of God within Israel is thus assumed,—and the historic facts bear out such a view, it then becomes necessary to ask what relation we are to regard the Spirit of God as holding in the Old Testament period to heathen nations and faiths. This is a problem with which Jewish thinkers only imperfectly grappled, and we are able to understand why this was so. The notion of God's rule and operation as being universal has come to be one of the axioms of our religious thought, and it is with that presupposition that we approach all the problems of history and religion. But to the Hebrew prophet such a conception was not axiomatic. It was by way of nationalism that he moved out into universalism, and he does not seem to have achieved more than a partial occupation of that larger territory. Even to the greater prophets Israel was the Son whom as a child God had loved, and called out of Egypt.¹ A hint that there were conceivably other children in Yahweh's family may be read into God's description of Israel as "My son, My first born," 2 but the idea was so vague as to be practically non-existent, for even later, when it had become recognised that God had relations to other peoples, it was only a few choice minds which rose to the belief that God loved and pitied them.3 Amos 4 expresses the characteristic view of his

² Ex. iv. 22. ¹ Hosea xi. I.

³ We have this belief reflected in the Book of Jonah and in Ecclesiasticus xviii. 13 and Wisdom xi. 24. 4 Amos iii, 2.

nation when he depicts God as saying to Israel: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth," known, that is, with the intimacy of fellowship and love. A new situation emerged when Israel was drawn into the swift current of world-politics, and the ebb and flow of her fortunes issued in her temporary absorption by Babylon and her restoration by Persia. Religious thought demanded that these and other seeming interferences with Yahweh's government of His people should be reconciled with faith in His supremacy, and this was effected by such a universalising of God's sovereignty as not only reduced other gods to "vanities." but made heathen nations and their monarchs simply tools used by God for the discipline or advancement of His own people. In homely figures Isaiah pictures Assyria as "a hired razor" in the hand of Yahweh, and Egypt as flies whom God has summoned with hissing to His side and help.1 So also Babylon is the great fish whom God has "prepared" for the temporary absorption of His people,2 and Cyrus is a servant who, little knowing who was his Master, has been girded by God.³ Hence the general conception concerning heathen peoples, where they are not the objects of Divine wrath, is that they come within the scope of God's regard in so far as they are required to further His purpose for the people of His choice. Where God is concerned they are the sphere of His power or the recipients of His judgments; only in the Book of Jonah is there the assertion that for them also are intended Yahweh's pity and grace. It was, therefore, only a partial universalising of its God that Judaism actually achieved. God who brought the Syrians from Kir and the Philistines from Caphtor,4 was regarded as having ¹ Isa, vii, 18-20. ² Jonah i, 17. ³ Isa, xlv. 5. ⁴ Amos, ix. 7.

disposed the various nations over the world's surface, just as He had given Israel its home in the land of Canaan. Paul read into these arrangements a religious purpose, their object being that the nations thus disposed "should seek God, if haply they might grope after Him, and find Him." But that thought is an advance on the Old Testament presentation. There heathen faiths are falsehood, and heathen gods demons or vanities. Probably even the Persian religion, with which, during the long subjection of their nation to Persia, Jewish thinkers were in close contact, produced no serious modification of this view, for though Parseeism was singularly noble in both its theology and ethics, and Jewish reflection was largely stimulated by it in such directions as angelology, demonology and conceptions of the future life, Yahweh still remained the peculiar property of Israel. We may condemn this exclusiveness as narrow, but it is excusable since it was due to immaturity. Moreover, it was natural that men who were governed by practical considerations rather than by speculative interests, should feel that for them the urgent religious problem was to discover what God was to themselves and their own nation and age. Only when that vantage-ground had been securely gained could thought essay a larger flight. There is a sense in which narrowness is necessary for intensity. Probably it was only by feeling that Yahweh was in a peculiar sense their God that Israel could have been stirred to cultivate the right feeling towards Him!2 We, however, who, in the fine phrase of Athanasius, believe that the Jews have been the "sacred school for all the world of the knowledge of God and of the

¹ Acts xvii. 26, 27.

² G. B. Gray, The Divine Discipline of Israel, p. 30.

spiritual life," ¹ may hold also that other nations have had a vocation, different in kind, assigned to them by God, and have been trained by the same Spirit to discharge it. ² Indeed, specialisation of function seems to have been part of the general scheme of progress. Even where religious truth is concerned, the acknowledgment of the supreme attainments of the chosen race does not mean that we must restrict the possession of truth to Israel, and speak

"As if the cisterns of those Hebrew brains
Drained dry the springs of the All-knower's thought."

The fact that Israel had the most and the best does not involve that other nations had nothing. Surely over their darkness the Spirit of truth also brooded, and to them was given such light as they had the capacity to receive, and as might serve them till the fuller light was brought! Interpreted after this fashion all history and all truth are the province of the Spirit of God, and He, dividing to each nation and age as He will, justifies our faith in God as the Lord of the whole earth, and the Father of all the families whom He has made to dwell therein.

B.—THE SPIRIT IN REVELATION

The fact that God was active in the history of Israel involved that the history was capable of becoming a vehicle of Divine revelation. To say that revelation has been a process in history means not simply that with the lapse of time there has been a growth of truth, but that truth has been furnished in a concrete rather

¹ Athanasius, De Incarn. 12.

² See this point enlarged upon by Bishop Gore in *Lux Mundi* (15th Ed.), p. 250.

than an abstract form, it has been imbedded, so to speak, in individual and national experience. But it has been thus hidden only with a view to its ultimate discovery. What was needed was an eye to see it and a tongue to declare it. It avails little that God should speak unless men are made able to hear. Hence the Spirit of God, active, first of all, in so shaping history that it was charged with Divine meanings, was active also in enabling men to apprehend them. The two processes are complimentary, for if such a communication of truth is revelation, the quickening of man to see and believe it is inspiration. Both, therefore, are vital processes, i.e., they belong to persons, and can only in a secondary sense be associated with a Book in which a message thus given and received is recorded. There is a sense, too, in which these twin operations belong not simply to all religions, in so far as they have been true, but to all truth, for in every realm the initiative of knowledge is with God, and every truth-seeker is aided by Him. But by common consent the term "revelation" is restricted not simply to religious truth, but to that portion of it which man has been unable to discover for himself. It is a sound distinction. though the statement of it may be popular rather than scientifically exact, that what man is able to discover God does not trouble to reveal. Discovery applies to such truths, even in the religious realm, as man by observation, experiment and the various activities of the logical reason is able to find out, whilst revelation is concerned with those religious truths which appeal directly to the whole moral personality, and which, as they seem to be given rather than acquired, are not so much irrational as supra-rational. By this principle the truths of what is called natural religion are dis-

tinguished from those of revealed. "Natural religion," says Martineau, "is that in which man finds God; revealed religion is that in which God finds man."

It is a truism of our faith that the Old Testament and, indeed, the Bible as a whole, contains a revelation, and, therefore, illustrates the two-fold activity of the Spirit to which allusion has been made; for the very existence of the Bible, if our view of it be correct, implies not simply speech on God's side, but hearing and comprehension on the part of man. The problems thus opened up are large and manifold, but concerned, as we are, simply with the relation to them of the Holy Spirit, a few points only must be discussed. And, firstly, there is the delimitation of the frontiers of revelation. They bound, as we have seen, a narrow realm given over wholly to those religious truths which lie beyond the reach of the speculative reason. By their very nature science and revelation can never be at strife. They move in different orbits, they employ different faculties; their spheres may touch, but they do not intersect, and they themselves may supplement, but do not contradict each other. Science may be at strife with the form in which a revealed truth has been expressed, or it may challenge the validity of some mode in which it has been applied, and it interposes in this fashion with perfect legitimacy whenever revelation descends to a sphere where science is competent to speak. Science has absolute right to challenge the story of Creation in Gen. i., if a religious thinker asserts that adaptation of a Babylonian cosmogony to be authoritative as to the duration and order of the creation of the world. Science, of course, must prove its case, but, having done so, no amount of authority which we may invoke under the cover of inspiration,

can avail to blunt the edge of its criticisms. The truth is that when science issues this challenge, it is not revelation which it assails, but only the time-form in which a revealed truth was necessarily cast. The essential message which the author of the Creation story was inspired to convey was that the world and its contents owed their existence of one God, and were evidences of His power, wisdom and love. In other words, it was a religious, and not a scientific, message, and hence it abides, because it approves itself to our faith, even though the poetic form in which it is expressed in Genesis is different from that which would be adopted by a devout scientist teaching the same truth to-day. The distinction thus illustrated between substance and form requires to be observed throughout, and the Divine contribution to the Scriptures must be sought for in those fundamental pre-suppositions concerning God and His will which he who essays to speak or write feels moved to declare.

But when we have thus limited the truth which the Spirit of God as the source of revelation brings, we have, further, to take into account the man to whom He brings it. One characteristic of revelation is that it is historical, i.e., it comes to a man of a particular age and race, and at a definite stage of moral and intellectual culture. Now if such a man hears the voice of God, it must be because God speaks to him so as to be understood. This requires that the truth given is capable of relation to existing knowledge and can be expressed in existing thought-forms. It is as useless for God as for man to speak "over the heads of the reporters."

¹ We see also that the Babylonian cosmogony used by the author of Genesis was purged of polytheism and of crude and unworthy ideas concerning God, ere it was adopted by him to convey his message

The recipient of a revealed truth needs so to apprehend it as to formulate it intelligibly to himself, and then, since it is his only that he may communicate it, to pass it on to others. The communication obviously involves some accommodation to the conditions of the age, but so also does the original reception of the truth. When a man's moral personality was supernaturally quickened to receive a message uttered by God, that inspiration, the facts of the Bible itself being our witness, did not mean the supersession of his normal faculties, the transformation or suppression of the existing content of his mind. Revelation comes to a man of given character and environment, and he, though inspired, instead of being made thereby other than himself, is made most truly himself. Inspiration is not mechanical, but dynamical. It does not operate like magic or a blind ecstasy, so that the prophet is simply a living tool. It is quite true that it has been thus conceived, e.g., by heathen writers. Even so eminent a thinker as Plato says: "God has given the art of divination, not to the wisdom, but to the foolishness of man. No man, when in his wits, attains prophetic truth and inspiration; but when he receives the inspired word, either his intelligence is enthralled in sleep, or he is demented by some distemper or possession." 1 It was when a man was "out of his senses" that he was thought to be a suitable subject for Divine inspiration. The view thus soberly stated by philosophy was reflected in the popular superstition which looked upon men who were crazy or had fallen into trance or ecstasy, as peculiarly the victims of Divine posses-

¹ Plato, Timæus, 71.

² In Plato, Ion, 534, we have the words $\epsilon \nu \theta \epsilon \delta s$ τε καὶ ἔκφρων, "inspired and crazy."

sion.¹ The loss of self-control was regarded as the surest sign that God had assumed direction of a man's mind and faculties, the theory being that there could only be most of the Divine, when there was least of the human. The less of the normal, the more of the abnormal! The less obtrusive a man's own thought and will, the more obviously was he the mouthpiece of God!

Nor was this mechanical theory of inspiration confined to paganism; it had a place also in Judaism, for even Philo affirms that mastery of ourselves excludes any experience of the nature of inspiration. "For the understanding that dwells in us is ousted on the arrival of the Divine Spirit, but is restored to its own dwelling when the Spirit departs, for it is unlawful that mortal dwell with immortal." 2 The same view is reflected in the Bible. It appears in the exaggerated value which in both Testaments was attached to operations of the Spirit which were abnormal in that they disturbed the balance of personality.3 It is seen also in the superstitious reverence with which the Jew's regarded the letter of Scripture, especially that of the Law. Not only was every letter inspired, but, on the strength of a merely verbal association, passages could be torn from their context, and symbolic or prophetic meanings read into them which in themselves they were unable to sustain. Similarly, when a quotation from the Old Testament appears in the New, it is sometimes described as having been spoken by God "through the prophet," 5 as if the prophet had been, so to speak,

¹ It will be remembered that Mr A. E. W. Mason in *The Four Feathers*, takes advantage of this fact, and secures his hero, who pretends to be crazy, respite from execution by his Egyptian captors.

² Philo, Quis Rer. Div. Hæres, c. 53.

⁸ See p. 41 ff. ⁴ A few illustrations are given later (pp. 53-4).

⁵ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου (Matt. i. 22, ii. 5, xii. 17, and frequently).

simply the channel through which the stream of the Divine utterance flowed; or, yet again, the Holy Spirit is referred to as actually uttering the words quoted.1 In one extremely difficult passage 2 the suggestion seems to be that Old Testament prophecy is worthy of study, because it will be found to have Christian significance. A single interpretation will not exhaust its meaning, least of all the interpretation of the prophet himself. "It was not by man's will that any prophecy was ever brought " (presumably, from God, or heaven), "but it was as they were being borne along by the Holy Spirit that men spake from God." The undoubted suggestion is that the prophet, at the moment of inspiration, was in the sweep of a power by which his own intellect and will were overborne, so that he uttered more than he understood. The Epistle in which this mechanical theory of inspiration is set forth is probably the latest book of the New Testament,3 and in this particular feature has affinity with the extravagances of Montanism. But the conception is one which regard for both man and God compels us to reject. One feels that if the action of the Holy Spirit upon the inspired man be, as the advocates of the mechanical theory have described it, "like a flute-player breathing into his flute" or "a plectrum striking a lyre," 4 God is guilty of degrading man in that He uses him, not as a

¹ Heb. iii. 7, ix. 8.

3 For reasons justifying this view, see the writer's St. John and

other N.T. Teachers, p. 166 f.

² 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. Mayor (The Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of Peter), in a learned and exhaustive note on the passage, discusses various interpretations, and shows why the one given above is the most credible. Dr. Swete also deals with the passage (The Holy Spirit in the N.T., pp. 264-5).

⁴ Athenagoras uses these figures.

moral being, but as a mere tool. No true personal relations are constituted by the act of inspiration, but man is impelled, like a machine, by a force which remains all the while external to his true self. More worthy of both God and man, and therefore, on à priori grounds more credible, is the view that inspiration, instead of superseding a man's own personality, reinforces it, so that his faculties are lifted to their highest power, and there is such an intensification of individuality that a man, when inspired, is not least, but most, himself.

On this view, therefore, in inspiration man is acted upon only that he may more fully act himself. But since otherwise the man is unchanged, his moral and intellectual content being as before, save in so far as revelation enlarges them, it will follow that the characteristics and limitations of the man will appear in the revelation which he mediates. The revelation is not on that account less Divine in its source, just as the water of the spring was not less surely pure vapour in the sky to begin with, because in the salts which it contains it exhibits traces of the chemical constituents of the atmosphere and rocky strata through which it has passed ere it gushes forth in the valley. Inspiration uses its subject not simply as a man, but as the man that he is. Starting from this premise we may advance to further conclusions. Light, e.g., is thrown upon the methods of revelation. The highest form of revelation in the Old Testament is exhibited in the greater prophets, whose minds, reflecting on individual or national experience, were supernaturally quickened to perceive expressed in it some truth concerning the

¹ Gwatkin (The Knowledge of God, i. p. 169), argues that such a mechanical use of man on the part of God would be immoral.

character or will of God. In these instances the experience actually had the meaning which was read out of it. But can the same always be affirmed at the more primitive stage of revelation? It is interesting to observe in what crude beginnings Hebrew prophecy took its rise. All over the Semitic world each nation had its own god, and believed that its deity was interested in the affairs of his worshippers and was prepared to give them guidance. His judgment was ascertained in various ways. Sometimes it was by watching the movements of clouds or the rustling of trees.1 At other times men cast lots,2 or inspected the entrails of sacrifices, or consulted the spirits of the dead,3 and thus inferred the mind of their god. If these devices were finally superseded in the religion of Israel, it was because, even while they flourished, there had existed by their side another mode of divine consultation, viz., through men whose specific function seemed to be that of serving as the mouthpiece of God. The Divine Wisdom "in all ages entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God and prophets." 4 With such men, first known as seers, the deity appears to have communicated in different ways. Sometimes it was by means of a dream; 5 at other times by a sort of trance or waking vision,6 so that the seer apparently had the gift of what we call clairvoyance. He was thought to be specially under divine influence when he became worked up into a kind of ecstatic or frenzied state, and hence artificial means, such as music, were occasionally employed to induce this condition. The subjects on which such men were consulted were often as trivial as their methods,

^{1 2} Sam. v. 24.

³ I Sam, xxviii. 8 ff.

⁵ Num. xii. 6.

² Josh. vii. 14, Ezek. xxi. 21.

⁴ Wisdom vii. 27.

⁶ Num. xxiv. 4.

and we can well believe that among the seers, since monetary gain attached to their divination, there were many who were as undoubtedly quacks and charlatans as the witch-doctors and medicine-men of savage tribes. But they were not all so. Among the men whom we are bound to accept as genuine exponents of the mind of God, Moses is described as resorting to a sort of divination by rods, whilst, as to the use of music in producing an ecstatic condition, Elisha is referred to as calling for a minstrel. "And it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him." 2 The question for us is, Was this actually so, or was it only a false impression. Could the Holy Spirit cooperate with devices which appear to us so crude and unethical? Frankly one does not see why He should not, assuming, of course, that the man who uses such devices is not ethically unworthy to receive a message from God. It is certain that in the childhood of religion man's unscientific mind frequently read into strange natural phenomena ideas concerning God of which the events, properly understood, were not always the expression.3 But the ideas themselves, though thus wrongly deduced, had truth in them, in that they corresponded to realities in the will and nature of God, and were such as men needed to know. Truth is not able all at once to disengage itself from superstition. Can we not conceive, therefore, that the Divine Spirit, having to take men at the stage of culture at which they stood, was entitled to stoop even to human infirmity, and impress the truth upon primitive religious thinkers

¹ Ex. vii. 10. ² 2 Kings iii, 15.

³ The fury of the storm, e.g., would be taken as meaning that the deity was angry. This, though a false inference from that phenomenon, was true in so far as man was led to believe that God was capable of anger.

by such media as they could appreciate, it being left for later thinkers to derive the same truths in a more rational way? 1 Moreover, it may be urged that all that the hallowed mode of communication did was to gain a hearing for the truth; the real endorsement of the divineness of its source was derived from the moral sense to which it came, for which reason it was able to survive the later and more scientific explanation of the phenomena through which it was first perceived. Many even of our sciences had their roots in superstition,2 and error has been used to lead men to the truth. But both the explanation and the justification of this fact are that inspiration, even when serving the high ends of revelation, has to take a man as he is, with all his mental twists and limitations. As we follow the movement of revelation in the Old Testament, we see that it was only as human nature became more ethical and social life more organised, that great movements in history and deep experiences of individuals could be discerned as declaring the nature of God. And it is only at a still later stage that the discovery of the universal reign of law and of the relation of each thing and person to all others has enabled the universe as a whole, and not simply outstanding events in its history,

¹ Principal G. A. Smith (The Book of the Twelve Prophets, i., p. 16) says of the primitive Semitic prophet: "Through him men believed in God and in the possibility of a revelation. They sought from him the discrimination of evil from good. The highest possibilities of social ministry lay open to him: . . . he was the mouth of justice, the rebuke of evil, the champion of the wronged. Where such opportunities were present, can we imagine the Spirit of God to have been absent—the Spirit who seeks men more than they seek Him, and as He condescends to use their poor language for religion, must also have stooped to the picture language, to the rude instruments, symbols and sacraments of their early faith?"

² E.g., astronomy in astrology, chemistry in alchemy.

to become a medium of Divine revelation. The God who spake in old time "by divers portions," did so "in divers manners," caring little for the method so long as it secured that the message was heard and understood.

But though that concession can legitimately be made, it needs to be supplemented by the contention that the highest elements in the Divine character are only realised through an inspiration which is ethically conditioned. Where they are concerned it is to "holy souls" that the word of God comes. The explanation is that like has affinity with like, that the deep in man answers to the deep in God. What we see in an object will depend upon the eyes we bring to it, and with religious truth it is the moral personality which represents the organ of vision. It is true always that pectus theologum facit, "the heart makes the divine," for that spiritual insight by which the secret of God is perceived, is morally conditioned. "The pure in heart" see God. It could not have been a matter of indifference through whom the truths concerning God came which were conveyed through such prophets as Hosea, or Isaiah, or Jeremiah. Hosea was surely not the first man in ancient Israel to whom, through a wife's unfaithfulness, there had come the tragedy of a blighted home, but he seems to have been the first to win from such a tragedy the realisation of a love in God, tender and persistent, of which he became the mouthpiece. Was it only an accident that this revelation came to Hosea? Was it not rather the pitying love in his own heart, making him yearn to win back his erring wife, which convinced Hosea that God had a similar feeling towards sinful Israel? After all, there is no logic like that of the heart, and unless we are to assume that the product is greater

than the Producer, it is by a true instinct that man, on discovering anything worthy in himself, has assumed it to exist in the God in whose image he is made. As Browning says,

"Take all in a word: the Truth in God's breast Lies trace for trace upon ours impressed; Though He is so bright and we so dim, We are made in His image to witness Him."

It is in the soul which is "in tune with the Infinite" that the Divine music makes itself heard, just as a note struck on one instrument sounds on another near to it, if both be keyed to the same pitch. Moral sympathy is the basis of moral insight. Yet obviously, where man and God are concerned, the sympathy on man's side is always incomplete. Not only is it frequently a matter of aspiration rather than of attainment, being something towards which his eyes look rather than that on which his feet actually stand, but there attaches to it the defect which stains all finite achievements. It is from the "ye, being evil" of man that thought leaps to the recognition of the "much more" in the undimmed perfection of God.1 This fact explains why the truth, as it was apprehended by man, was frequently marked with defect, or even contained some admixture of error. Man was once more limiting the Spirit of God. For perfection cannot be attained at a bound. Revelation must needs be conditioned by the existing state of the religious consciousness, and though the conception of God which it brings, and the sense of moral obligation arising therefrom, will always be in advance of what already exists, it cannot be too much in advance. The principle thus asserted finds ample illustration. We

can see, for example, how a great idea like holiness was construed at first in material terms, so that it not only demanded abstinence from certain articles of food, or the avoidance of particular situations, but might even be contracted, like some contagious disease, by contact with a holy thing.1 We observe that this conception, whilst inducing through legalism such a view of God as made Him transcendental, unable to risk His holiness by coming into contact with a world of matter, had also another development, due largely to the prophets, who, purging holiness of its material elements, made it to be construed, with ever-growing clearness, in terms of ethical and spiritual life. But even Christianity did not succeed all at once, with its Jewish adherents, in displacing the materialistic view.2 We see, again, that Jewish thinkers, in so far as, before Christ came, they attained to a conception of God as Father, were able neither to make that conception the central definition of the Divine nature, nor so far to rise above inherited antipathies and racial limitations as, save in a few rare and apparently uninfluential instances,3 to give that conception of God an application beyond the limits of Israel. Repeatedly, also, do we see that moral problems receive only a tentative solution. The Book of Job is a noble effort to grapple with the problem of suffering; yet why does its conclusion leave us unsatisfied? It is because no final goal is reached. On the negative side nothing could be finer than that Book, for the current theory that suffering was always the outcome of sin is brilliantly riddled and exposed. But

1 Ezek, xlii. 14. See Ency. Bibl., col. 838.

² Hence the difficulty about the eating of certain foods shown by Peter (Acts x. 14), and by Christians at Corinth, and discussed at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.).

³ These have already been cited (p. 23).

when the author comes to the construction of a positive and alternative theory, we are simply told that God's universe is so vast and our place in it so insignificant that it is presumptuous for man to expect to understand all the ways of God. In the absence of comprehension his duty, knowing God, is to trust Him.1 The poem, therefore, whilst practically helpful, fails to provide a speculative solution of its problem. So, too, as Christ's revision of the Law in the Sermon on the Mount reminds us, notions of moral obligation which were the highest to which religious thought at the legalistic stage was able to attain, needed, in the light of Christ's revelation, to be enlarged and spiritualised in some instances, and in others to be abrogated altogether. Similarly, rites, like sacrifice and circumcision, which Israel had taken over from the common Semitic stock, were, in the first instance, purged of their gross associations by being made the expression of worthier ideas, and only in the final stage, under the pressure of spiritual conceptions, were entirely superseded. Thus did the institutions of worship become spiritualised, and moral ideas, like holiness or love, receive deepening and purification, each advance meaning that something which, as seen in the light of later revelation, appeared crude or even false, was discarded, and practices once approved were condemned. It is no necessary element in the conception of revelation that even its presentation of moral truths shall commend itself entirely to a maturer and later time. The Spirit, in bringing the revelation, is limited by the human recipient, and for that reason the possibility of outgrowth will attach not simply to the media He employs, but even to the content of the message which at a particular stage He brings.

¹ See Dr. Peake, The Problem of Suffering in the O.T., p. 102.

To the superficial observer there can be no doubt that it was the abnormal psychical phenomena, already alluded to as associated with early prophecy, which constituted the surest proof of the presence of the Spirit of God. Balaam, who may be taken as a high example of the prophet among the heathen Semites, introduces one of his utterances with the words:

"The oracle of Balaam, the son of Beor,
The oracle of the man whose eye is closed,
The oracle of him that heareth the words of God,
Who seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Fallen down, and having the eyes uncovered." 1

There the picture is that of a seer prostrate, with the fixed gaze of trance or ecstasy, or of one who has his eyes closed to visual impressions from the outer word, though at the same time they are open or "uncovered" to the Divine vision. Early Hebrew prophecy had the same external features, for the trance-like vision and, as in the case of the group of prophets to which Saul for the moment became attached, 2 a dervishlike frenzy were familiar tokens of Divine possession. These phenomena admit of a psychological explanation. They represent what at a certain stage of culture we may expect when a strong impulse, be its source what it may, falls upon a nature emotionally unstable and pre-disposed to welcome it. We may believe, on the principle that God has to take a man as he is, that such experiences did in many cases attend a real operation of the Spirit of God. It has been pointed out 3 that the

¹ Num. xxiv. 3, 4. G. B. Gray (Inter. Crit. Comm.), points out that the words "fallen down" admit of several interpretations, and that the text is open to suspicion.

² I Sam. x. 10.*

³ Principal G. A. Smith, The Book of the Twelve Prophets, i., p. 22.

emergence of ecstasy as a regular characteristic of the prophet takes place in Israel just when the nation was in the midst of that struggle with the Philistines in which patriotism and religion were both equally involved. With that national movement the bands of prophets,-roving, perhaps, at first, but finally becoming settled at one of the popular shrines or near to the royal court,-were in warm sympathy. The infectious enthusiasm which they exhibited undoubtedly has its parallels in the dervish-dancers of Islam, and in types of Christianity, and may be accepted as a genuine, if comparatively worthless, product of the Spirit of God. "The whole process is due to an overpowering sense of the Deity-crude and unintelligent if you will, but sincere and authentic-which seems to haunt the early stages of all religions, and to linger to the end with the stagnant and unprogressive." But there is always the peril that the external and accidental, just because their appeal is so obvious, may usurp the place of the inner and essential. To work oneself up into an ecstasy is so much easier than to satisfy those moral and intellectual conditions on which inspiration finally rests. And so the time came when to the nobler minds within Israel these physical accessories of prophecy became suspect. A stage in that upward movement is reflected in the passage which assigns to Moses a unique place among prophets. "If there be a prophet among you," says God, "I the Lord will make Myself known unto him in a vision, I will speak with him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so; he is faithful in all Mine house: with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even manifestly, and not in dark speeches; and the form of the Lord shall be behold." There the "vision" and the "dream"

¹ Ibid., p. 21.

are endorsed as ordinary means of Divine communication. The "dream" has not fallen into disrepute, nor has it yet become discredited as, e.g., it was by Teremiah. but, at the same time, there is involved in the whole tone of the contrast which the prophethistorian draws, a clear perception that there are higher and more desirable channels of revelation, such as those which are used when with plain and direct speech God speaks to the man whose fidelity to Yahweh has been

proved.

That higher ideal of prophecy is reflected even more vividly in the greater prophets. Two things are noticeable in relation to them, one positive and the other negative, and both of them extremely important. Positively, they find their credentials for the prophetic vocation in the content of their message and in the constraint to utter it with which its reception is attended. The reason why the regulative principle of prophecy thus became located in the moral consciousness is that the greater prophets of Israel appear to have been deeply religious men to whom responsibility to Yahweh and fellowship with Him were very real experiences. Elevation of character thus became the first element of a prophet's equipment, and hence his message is for the most part brought to him under normal conditions. Vision and ecstasy do not wholly disappear, for Isaiah and Jeremiah seem to have had their moments of rapt vision,2 the "hand" with which these prophets were pressed symbolising the grip with which the Divine action for the moment held their faculties. But on the whole we observe,-least, perhaps, in Amos, but very clearly in the prophets who followed him, -a drawing away from the external

¹ Jer. xxiii. 25.

features of earlier prophecy, and only with Ezekiel, who stands in some respects apart and belongs to the period of prophetic decline, does the vision regain some of its old importance. Between Amos and Ezekiel God as a rule speaks to the active and waking intelligence of the prophet, the message vindicating the divineness of its source not simply by its content which, since it often involved rebuke of national sin, thrust the prophet into an unwelcome isolation, but also by the compelling authority which attended its reception. Jeremiah speaks of himself as struggling to "hold in the fury of Yahweh "1 or as feeling the prophetic word to be like "a burning fire in his bones," 2 or as being like a man helplessly intoxicated "because of the Lord, and because of His holy words."3 It is thus by its inward effects, and not by the mode of its communication, that the Divine message finally authenticates itself to the prophet.

The negative feature which that great period of Hebrew prophecy exhibits is a paucity of references to the Holy Spirit. The activity of the Spirit in the prophet's experience and work is mentioned only once by Isaiah 4 and not at all by Jeremiah, and it is not until we come to Ezekiel that it receives worthy recognition. How are we to account for this strange silence? The explanation is probably to be found in the two lines which prophetic development had taken. What we observe, as we watch, is the gradual drawing away of the true prophet from the groups of ecstatics. The latter, representing at first a real movement of the Spirit of God, since Samuel recognises them, and even

¹ Jer. vi. 11. ² Jer. xx. 9. ³ Jer. xxiii. 9. ⁴ Isa. xxx. 1. Other instances are Hosea ix. 7 (for which see p. 46) and Micah iii. 8.

Elijah and Elisha have affinities with them,1 as had also the prophet called "that mad fellow," 2 who was sent to anoint Jehu, remained not less so because there were swept up into the movement, drawn by the lure of religious excitement, some of the superficial and less balanced minds of the time. But the danger of any religious movement which has pronounced external features is that men may come to see in them, and not in its moral judgments and enthusiasm, that which seals it as divine. And "the sons of the prophets," especially when they succumbed to royal patronage, lost, as we see only too clearly in those prophets who urged Ahab to his doom,3 that contact with truth which is the surest sign that a prophet is inspired. Hence the true prophet gradually drew away from them, the greatness of Elijah and Elisha being apparent, not in their affinities with those ecstatic schools or groups, but in the ethical enthusiasm and political insight which were their main characteristics. Failure to advance in those directions led to the nebi'im being styled "false" prophets, though their falsehood was not, in the first instance, conscious, but was due to their becoming enslaved to tradition and attaching extravagant value to such accidents of prophetism as ecstasy. To the majority ecstasy came to be everything. They failed to see that, even in the days when the ecstatics had been truly inspired, their raptures had been but a by-product of the Spirit. And so the ecstasies, since to some extent they could be mechanically induced or easily imitated, survived their real inspiration, and as a mistaken psychology, popularly believed, still saw in them a

¹ They are spoken of as having upon them sometimes "the hand of the Lord" (r Kings xviii. 46; 2 Kings iii. 15).

² 2 Kings ix. 11.

³ 1 Kings xxii. 6 ff.

manifestation of the Spirit, the true prophets who, though opposed, as Jeremiah was, by these degenerate camp-followers of the prophetic movement, knew themselves to be in assured accord with the mind of God. deliberately refrained from explicitly associating with themselves and their work the Spirit of God, since they felt that that term had become vulgarised and perverted by its association with pseudo-prophecy. Their silence, therefore, was of the nature of a protest. It was a claim that their prophetic gift was of a different type from that to which the notion of the Spirit was popularly attached. Hence Amos stands apart from the prophetic guilds, and Hosea claims that the degeneracy of the "ecstatics" is part of God's judgment on Israel's sin. "The prophet is a fool, the man of the Spirit is mad, for the multitude of thine iniquity." In plain words, part of the penalty of Israel's transgression is, in Hosea's view, that prophetic ecstasy has sunk to mere delirium and fanaticism. If this fate had overtaken "the man of the Spirit" so that even to Jeremiah "to be mad" and "to behave as a prophet," i.e., to exhibit the wild and frenzied gestures of a modern dervish, were synonymous terms,2 small wonder was it that the prophets from Amos to Jeremiah were so chary of associating the Spirit with their own message and work. Hence we have the curious situation that the period which is the most inspired epoch of the religion of Israel, is scantiest in references to the source of its inspiration.

The limitations which, as we have seen, the inspired man in the reception of a revelation imposed upon the inspiring Spirit, appear also in the inspired application of a revelation. The fundamental truths, concerned

¹ Hosea ix. 7.

² Jer. xxix. 26.

with the nature of God, which are the substance of revelation, not only serve as the basis of other truths which are inferentially derived from them, but they stimulate religious development in the two directions of conduct and worship. Every faith tends to express itself in worship and life. Hence it creates institutions, shapes ritual, and formulates moral precepts. But these off-shoots of revelation are always relative to the faith from which they spring, and in consequence, as the process of revelation goes on, they exhibit many changes of the nature, not simply of the purification, but even of the elimination, of much that previously has been accounted worthy and true. This contention is too obvious to require further elaboration.1 But another form which the application of revealed truth assumed in the Old Testament cannot be so quickly dismissed. One of the greatest gains which has accrued from the more critical study of the Old Testament is that we have come to see the true function of the prophets. They are primarily preachers to their times.² Speaking in the name of God, whose "messenger" or "servant" they claim to be, they seek to awaken the nation to a sense of its sin by announcing such disclosures of the nature or demands of God as stood expressed in the historic situation. Even when they discuss foreign policy or denounce social evils, they never speak as mere politicians. All their interests are determined by their belief in God. To them history is a field in which God is at work. God speaks through events because He acts in

¹ Moreover, it has been already illustrated (p. 47 ff).

² So that Bishop Butler's definition of prophecy as "the history of events before they come to pass" is set aside.

^{3 &}quot; Man of God" is another description of the prophet.

them. Especially is Israel's history the product of her God, and in her fortunes His disposition and purpose are disclosed. To the prophet, as Davidson says,1 "events are never mere occurrences; God animates them; each great event of history is a theophany, a manifestation of God in His moral operation." "Surely the Lord God will do nothing," said Amos, "but He revealeth His secret unto His servants the prophets."2 It needs to be added, however, that if the observation of the prophets is directed to the immediate situation, and their message is of primary significance to their contemporaries, they, nevertheless, survey the future as well, and interpretation is supplemented with prediction. But there, again, the action of the prophets was not directed to the satisfaction of an idle or speculative curiosity, but to practical ends of immediate importance, viz., quickening the conscience and moving the will of those to whom they spoke. For in many cases it is the Divine judgment upon an existing moral situation which is portrayed, or the issues of some present movement which are disclosed. Illustrations of this prophetic foresight are plentiful. Both Amos and Isaiah predicted the downfall of the Northern kingdom, the former forty years before it took place and at a time when that kingdom seemed at the zenith of its prosperity. Isaiah, in face of the advance of Sennacherib, assured Judah of the inviolability of Jerusalem, just as, later, Jeremiah predicted concerning the same city that the intervention of the Egyptians would fail to avert its capture by Nebuchadnezzar. Similarly, we have predictions as to the return from the Exile and the course of events

¹ Article "Prophecy and Prophets," H. D. iv. p. 113.

² Amos. iii. 7.

by which it was to be brought to pass. Briefly stated, it may be said that, in so far as prediction is concerned with the fortunes of the nation, it sets forth some impending manifestation of the Divine judgment, mediated in most instances by a foreign power, then the restoration, after chastisement, of a true rule of God to His people, with its attendant blessings of spiritual wellbeing, political freedom, and temporal prosperity. To this type belongs that large section of predictive utterance concerning the expected kingdom of God which we speak of as "Messianic prophecy."

Now our concern is as to how the Spirit of God acted in the production of these inspired forecasts. What was the relation of the Inspirer to the inspired? Some have answered the question by urging that there are some minds so constituted that they are exquisitely sensitive to the imminence of critical events, and that it is to this blind divination, this non-rational presentiment of evil, that prophetic prediction is to be ascribed.1 But if such a faculty is distinguished from the activity of a vivid and pessimistic imagination, what evidence have we that it exists? If, though only found in rare souls, it were a genuine part of the outfit of human nature, there would be no difficulty in regarding it as elevated by the Spirit of God to the service of revelation, for we are bound to believe that every province of man's being can allow of a Divine activity within it.2 But

1 See H. D., iv. p. 120.

² Davidson (ibid, p. 120), says: "There may be obscure capacities in the mind not yet explored; and there may be sympathetic rapports of human nature with the greater nature around, and of man's mind with the moral mind of the universe, which give results by unconscious processes; and if there be such faculties and relations, then we may assume that they would also enter into prophecy, for there is nothing common or unclean in the nature of man."

no such faculty need be assumed. The facts are sufficiently explained if we take the starting-point of a prophetic forecast to be the moral reason of the prophet quickened in its exercise by the Holy Spirit. The sense of what God was, the belief that He, with that definite character, was at work in the movement of events .these were the factors which the prophet brought to the explication of the historic situation. In other words, political prescience was determined by spiritual insight. The prophets saw further into the future by seeing more deeply beneath the surface. To them judgment always waited on sin, and every crisis was but a rightous God summoning the nations to His bar. It must, of course, be admitted that there are certain predictions, - mainly specific and individual in their reference,-which do not seem covered by this explanation. Jeremiah, e.g., predicts the death within twelve months of Hananiah.1 Still earlier Samuel had spoken of certain things which would happen to Saul,2 and Micaiah had predicted the overthrow and death of Ahab at Ramoth-Gilead.3 In these and other cases the event corresponded to the forecast, and, unless we are to discredit the records, it must be conceded that prophets had occasionally a prevision of future events so vivid and detailed as not to be explained by inspired reflection upon moral issues, but seeming to demand a reception of knowledge in what, so far as we can at present understand, was a wholly supernatural way. The experience is not without parallels in New Testament and more recent times. Now it is not for any one to say on à priori grounds that such an apparently miraculous occurrence is impossible. If we believe that at the heart of the universe there is an All-knowing Mind to which the partition which our

¹ Jer. xxviii. 16. ² 1 Sam. x. 2-9. ³ 1 Kings xxii. 17 ff.

knowledge normally makes between present and future is as invisible as the Equator, and if we believe, too, that that Mind is capable of relating itself to ours, then, unless we adopt Locke's theory of "closed personality," we may take the view that such a Mind has the power and, if the end to be served is worthy, may sometimes have the will, to overflow, or even ignore, the normal channels of communication, and beget, as though by direct impartation, a certainty in relation to the nature and mode of future events which ordinarily time alone would disclose. But, accepting the possibility of such supernatural communications, the facts compel us to regard the area of their occurrence as restricted, and to believe that the predictions of the prophets were generally the inspired product of the moral and reflective faculties acting togther. Why must we view that as the normal mode of their inspiration? Because the picture of the future, as the prophet draws it, is frequently hazy in outline; the prophet resorts to general, rather than detailed, statement, and is surer about issues than processes. It is the vagueness of detail which necessarily attaches to a picture which an enlightened imagination is endeavouring to portray,differing, therefore, from the realisation of the past, since the picture in that case can be corrected and filled out by appeal to recorded fact. Accordingly, there is not always perfect correspondence between anticipation and fulfilment; indeed, there are instances in which a prediction, in the way expected by the prophet, was never fulfilled at all.1

It is not sufficient to explain such discrepancies as due to the conditional element in prophecy. Jeremiah,

^{* 1} For detailed instances see Article "Prophecy and Prophets," H. D. iv. p. 125 f.

it is true, states conditions under which the declared purpose of God may be revoked,1 and it is credible that the very announcement of impending judgment should be designed to produce changes which make the judgment unnecessary. There is force in Jerome's contention that many of the prophecies were given, "not that they should, but that they should not, be fulfilled." But this only partially meets the difficulty, and critics in any case have questioned how far this conditional element was present in the thought of the prophet at the time his forecast of the future was formed and declared.2 There are discrepancies which argue a human and, therefore, a fallible element in the forecast. Instead of Babylon being captured by the Medes with all the accompaniments of violence and ravage, as Isaiah had foretold,3 Cyrus in the actual event made a peaceable entry into it. Damascus which, as the effect of the Divine judgment, was to cease to be a city, becoming instead a ruinous heap,4 has remained a city to this day. Such faultiness in detail suggests that the picture is one which to some extent is being filled up by the poetic imagination of the prophet. Similarly, prediction is often at fault as to the time of the expected occurrence. To the prophet the crisis towards which events are moving is always trembling on the horizon. That great vindication of His people which is spoken of in the Old Testament as "the day of Yahweh," and which brings the Messianic age in its immediate train, was generally associated with the downfall of the foreign power which at the moment held the Jews in thrall, and was regarded as close at hand. The perspective of the historic movement was foreshortened. It is

¹ Jer. xviii. 7-10.

³ Isa. xiii. 15-20.

² See Ency. Bibl., col. 3878.

⁴ Isa. xvii. I.

scarcely enough to say that the discrepancy is such as befalls an observer who, looking forth upon a group of mountains, sees a summit rising over the shoulder of a mountain in the foreground,—apparently near to it, and yet in reality miles beyond it. 1 It is better frankly to admit that the prophets antedated fulfilment, partly because they only saw "in part" either the ends or the processes of God, and partly because the very eagerness with which they desired the realisation of their ideals begot a holy impatience which read into the events of their time a larger significance in relation to the dénouement of the Divine drama than they were found actually to possess. Prophetic expectation soars to the goal towards which history, more prosaic than prophecy, travels with leaden foot. The future is idealised by hope.

To no phase of predictive utterance in the Old Testament do these considerations apply more fully than to what we know as Messianic prophecy, to which, however, only a scanty reference can be made. A distinction must be made between what to a prophet had a Messianic reference, and passages from the Old Testament which a New Testament writer will quote as being "fulfilled" in Christ, but that sometimes, as in Matthew's quotation,2 "Out of Egypt have I called my Son," which was an allusion by Hosea to Israel's deliverance at the Exodus, and his reference to Rachel weeping for her children,3

See Ency. Bibl., col. 3878, where it is pointed out that this "theory of 'perspective' is inconsistent with the important fact that events which might conceivably happen in the time of the prophet, are usually represented as the cause of the great events which are eschatologically to follow."

² Matt. ii. 15, a quotation from Hosea xi. 1.

³ Matt. ii. 17 f., a quotation from Jer. xxxi. 15, which was not a prediction at all, but a poetic description of Rachel lamenting, so

had no relation to Christ at all. In these latter instances supposed fulfilment and prophetic statement are simply associated through some verbal coincidence, and the practice illustrates the rabbinic treatment of Scripture. As regards sayings which from the prophet's point of view appear to bear a Messianic reference, investigation has shown that the horizon of vision is less remote than we used to suppose. The whole setting of Isaiah's prediction 1 concerning a virgin bearing a child who was to receive the symbolic name of Immanuel, shows that the prophecy had in Isaiah's lips an immediate reference, for a sign which was to reassure the fears of the reigning king must obviously have been something which was on the point of happening, and not an event which, like the birth of Jesus, was distant nearly eight centuries. There can be no doubt, however, that the Old Testament exhibits the presence and persistence of a marvellous hope. By tracing it through successive prophets it might be shown that it assumed varying forms, these being determined in part by the predominant needs or longings of the moment, and that the realisation of a personal Messiah and of the nature of His programme varied from age to age. In the expectations, as they took shape in the minds of the prophets, there is nothing beyond a merely general

to speak, over the last remnant of her descendants, as they defiled past her tomb near Ramah on their way to the captivity which was the result of the Chaldæan invasion of Palestine at the beginning of the 6th century B.C.

¹ Isa. vii. 14. Ahaz, threatened with hostilities from the kings of Israel and Syria, is offered by Isaiah a sign to re-assure him as to the issue. The sign is that of the speedy birth of a child to which his mother, seeing the hand of God in that averting of the nation's danger which by then will have taken place, will give the name of "With us is God." A full discussion of the prediction will be found in an article by Prof. G. B. Gray (Expositor, April, 1911).

correspondence to the actual fulfilment in Christ. That is true even of the great prophecy in Isaiah liii., in which we delight to see pre-figured the atoning death of Christ. Did the great prophet of the Exile from whom that chapter comes, see beforehand "the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow" exactly as we do who look back to them? Investigation has shown that the Servant of Yahweh, whose sufferings are there so vividly depicted, is, in the first instance, no individual, but Israel, or the righteous remnant of it, humiliated, smitten, oppressed, its separate existence destroyed by the Exile, so that its sufferings might benefit the heathen nations for whose healing they had been inflicted by God.¹ The immediate reference, therefore, is to sufferings already past, and hence the prophet cannot have contemplated the Cross and Resurrection of Jesus.2

In what sense, then, may we speak of Messianic prophecy as existing in the Old Testament? Clearly not in the sense that the prophets had before them in imagination a replica of the actual person and career of Jesus. They must frequently have spoken differently had that been so. No! it was in a vital, not a

¹ For a full discussion of the chapter see Dr. Peake's The Problem of

Suffering in the O.T., p. 51 ff.

As Dr. Peake says (Op. cit. p. 65): "From the first, Christianity has seen in the description of the Suffering Servant a prediction of Jesus of Nazareth. It is, however, a firmly established result of exegesis that this was not at all in the prophet's mind. He does not intend by the Servant of Yahweh a figure that is to come centuries later than his own time. This Servant has already lived and died, and the prophet utters his oracle after the death, but before the resurrection of the Servant. Moreover, in common with many interpreters, I am convinced that he intends by the Servant, not an individual at all, but the Israelitish nation, though several scholars do not accept this view."

mechanical, way that the Spirit of God inspired the prophetic dream of the future. The Messianism of the prophets is to be sought more in the general spirit of their outlook than in a pedantic analysis of their mere words. All through the prophetic age the prophets are in travail with a great hope, begotten, as Riehm has shown,1 of the covenant-relation between Israel and her God. They contemplate a time when the sin which makes God's sovereignty of His people an idea rather than a fact, shall be removed, and a holy God shall indeed rule in grace over a righteous people. The prophets feel compelled by their religious faith to believe that "if Jehovah was to be in the full sense Israel's God, and Israel His people, there must be in prospect a revelation of His glory far outshining all previous manifestations—some new and great deed of grace and salvation, something to remove the barrier to full and lasting covenant-fellowship—in short, an operation of His sinforgiving grace, which should do away with sin fully and for ever." 2 But this Divine event, since it was an ideal shaped in part by human thought, was coloured by memories of past glories and by what seemed desirable in the exigencies of the moment. And so in the form and date which the prophets attached to the realisation of the hope there is a time-element which admits its fallibility in that with each successive prophet it undergoes change. But the hope itself survives all changes. thus testifying to the strength of conviction with which it was held. Hence we still find Messianic prophecy in the Old Testament, but we find it in a new way. Owing to our better understanding of the ways of the Spirit, we see in all the prophets an inspired discontent with

¹ Messianic Prophecy, p. 66 ff.

² Ibid, p. 86. The italics are Riehm's.

the present, and a forward look to an ideal fellowship of God with His people in revelation and redemption. But though this prospect gradually took on nobler forms, the Spirit, since the men through whom He inspired it were never perfectly tractable material, could only at the best achieve an approximation of the forecast to the event. God's realisations are always better than man's dreams. Similarly, to Israel prophetic thought constantly assigned great functions. Out of Zion the law was to go forth, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.1 Through her sufferings, also, as we have seen, Israel was not simply to purge her own transgressions, but to make atonement for the sins of the heathen. But, all the while, realisation lagged behind the ideal, partly because of the blindness and sin which too frequently impaired the nation as God's servant,2 and partly because the realisation was in the nature of things beyond her. Israel was not near enough to God to be the medium of a perfect revelation, nor near enough to man to achieve a perfect redemption. The garments which the prophets wove were too noble to be worn by those upon whom they sought to fit them. And so the world still looked for Him who, when He came, gathered up into His Person and work, as we have been led to conceive them, all the unfulfilled dreams of the Old Testament, being so fully knit at once to both God and man that He could, after an ideal fashion, reveal the One and atone for the other. He sets up a kingdom, open on terms to all humanity, in which God rules in grace, and dwells with His people through the Spirit. The Law on its ethical side is "fulfilled" by the new law of love, ideally stated and obeyed by Jesus Himself, whilst its sacrifices melt into the one offering of the

¹ Isa. ii. 3, Micah iv. 2.

² Isa. xlii. 19.

Cross, which accomplishes in fact what others only achieved in symbol. Thus do the aspirations of the Old Testament, as expressed in its thought and institutions, find their fulfilment in Christ. To put the fulfilment over against the prophecy is to see how hazy, and even mistaken in some of its details was the latter, but it is to see also how the fulfilment, like every Divine response to human longing, was exceeding abundant, above all that men asked or thought.

What, then, is the conclusion to which this whole discussion compels us? Is it not this—that the movement of the Spirit in revelation is marked by freedom? Brooding over men in order that through them God may utter Himself to the world. He has refused to do violence to their nature in using it. The Spirit has asked, not for the abdication of man's intellect, but for its dedication. In revelation He has sought so to use man that by the very using man might not only learn something new, but become something greater. And this, all because God's great plan has been not so much to do things for us as to do things with us. God has not marched too far ahead of man. He has stooped to our poor human ways of thinking and feeling. He has come to us through such forms and along such channels of impression as our slow understanding left open to Him, and, imperfect as these media were, He has glorified them by the high use to which He has put them. By thus stooping to us God has raised us, and the glory of revelation has been not simply the truth which it brought, but the process by which the Spirit of God enabled it to come. The Divine gentleness has made us great. It is not a depleted manhood, but one active to the full extent of its powers that the Holy Spirit has used. The open mind needed for spiritual

receptivity is far removed from the empty mind, and we misunderstand the whole action of the Spirit in revelation, unless we see that He, taking man as He is, and calling for the active exercise of all his powers, has spoken to him, in such fragments as he could grasp and in such language as he could understand, the deep things of God.

C.—THE SPIRIT IN LITERATURE

Inspiration, necessary in the reception of a revelation, is required also for its transmission. The truth is only given that it may be communicated either in an oral or preferably, where permanence and accuracy are desired, a written form. We who look back and see how the Scriptures have served the interests of the revelation which they enshrine, can believe that the very impulse to write was due to the Spirit of God. Revelation perished as oral that it might live after a wider fashion as written. The writer need not have been in every instance the recipient of the revelation which he records, though they are frequently identical. In any case apprehension and expression are two separate activities, and require, so far as the Bible is concerned, separate gifts of inspiration. That needed for expression operates in an intellectual region where the problems demanding decision relate chiefly to literary form, the selection of the most appropriate literary vehicle for the truth to be conveyed, or the most fitting illustration of it, if the truth is to be passed on in a concrete rather than an abstract form. In a word, the function of inspiration in expression is to enable the Divine message to be communicated in a clear and arresting way.

But if such an inspiration is to be vital, and not

magical, it must act, not by the suppression, but by the stimulus, of individuality. The supernatural will appear in the fertilisation of the natural. To examine the Old Testament is to see that expectation fulfilled. That Book, which is really a collection of books, the cream of a nation's literature, has rich variety in that authors of various types,-historians, prophets, moralists, lawgivers and dramatists,—contribute to its pages, yet each remains true to himself and to the type to which he belongs. A sound position to which modern scholarship has conducted us is that our first duty to the Bible is to treat it as literature, i.e., to make it yield from within itself all the illumination upon problems of date, authorship, unity, etc., which we should expect it to furnish, when viewed simply as literature, and quite apart from any presumption as to its inspiration. This ground is taken quite legitimately, because poet and historian are not made less what they are by becoming inspired, but each remains truly himself, observing the usual laws of his art, and so impressing the qualities, and even the idiosyncrasies, of his mind upon what he writes that an informed criticism can lawfully determine from internal evidence that a book, seemingly a unity, is really composite in its authorship, or comes from some author other than the one traditionally associated with it. It is on the assumption that inspiration has meant a respect for individuality and the fertilisation of the natural that Biblical criticism has done much of its fruitful work.

We see also from the Old Testament that inspiration has been capable of hallowing various forms of literary genius. The variety of the Bible suggests that no form of literary expression is common or unclean. The form is as noble as the message, the peculiar sublimity of the

Bible being that its beauty has survived even the ordeal of translation into other than the original tongues. To us the great, because the creative, personalities of the religion of Israel are the prophets, especially those who flourished before the Exile. In speech that moves often on the loftiest plane, by turns pleading and denunciatory, mingling direct statement with vision or parable, invoking the aid of aphorism and metaphor, and even of irony and sarcasm, the great prophets, each in his own way, expressed the truth that was in them. The larger use of the vision-form of expression which appears in Books like Zechariah and Daniel, was, in part, a prudential resort to a veiled and symbolic utterance of hopes which it was not safe to declare in a more open way. Similarly inspiration laid hold of ecclesiastics and moralists, and harnessed their gifts to religious service. In the Wisdom literature 1 there gleams what we may almost call a sanctified common-sense, which expounds individual and social duty in a fashion congenial to the time. The Law, on the other hand, gave worthy expression to religious ideas in precept and ritual, the fact that some of its ordinances had their roots, as we have seen, in the common Semitic stock suggesting that the inspiration of the Spirit wrought not simply in the creation of the new, but in the editing and hallowing of the old. In the Psalms we behold the lyric gift dedicated to the service of religion. Life with its vicissitudes of good and ill, of hope and fear, sweeps many chords, and the music thus struck out demands re-expression in the presence of God. Religion is imperfectly equipped until it has a hymnal as catholic in its range as life itself, with songs for the heights and depths of individual and national experience, and all so

¹ I.e., the Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Job.

shaped that through them the soul finds devout and elevated expression for all that it thinks and feels in the hour of worship. Well does the Psalter satisfy this high requirement! The Old Testament, moreover, exhibits historians captured by the Holy Spirit and enlisted in the service of truth. To understand their function aright, however, we need to divest ourselves of our usual conception of the historian. The men who fill that rôle in the Old Testament are not mere annalists, but prophets. Their interest is not in the simple succession of events, many of which for that reason they leave unrecorded, but in the Divine movement of which to them outward events were merely the visible expression. They had the insight which, behind the kingdoms that rose and fell, the figures that strutted their brief hour upon the stage and then disappeared, perceived the Divine Actor who never left the stage at all. Hence they were more than chroniclers, they were interpreters, and their aim was so to select, and then to state, their material as to make the Divine action as obvious to their readers as through revelation it had become to themselves.

But here, again, the Spirit respected human freedom, and used the historian not as a pen, but as a thinker. Knowledge of past events was not miraculously bestowed, but was gathered by historical research from documentary and traditional sources. Sometimes, as in the case of the story of the Flood or of David's introduction to Saul, we are able to detect the fusion of two traditions in the one narrative. And this play of the human factor, since it is free, is also fallible, and we have no right to be surprised, therefore, if critical investigation of all the data discloses errors in detail, or discrepancies of number or sequence here and there

in Old Testament history. It is not in a compulsory immunity from error, but in the power to perceive and express the Divine significance of the past that we must locate the inspiration of the prophet-historians of Israel. Moreover, it was not simply historic fact through which they were enabled to express a Divine message. Any nation with a real root in the past will have a story which goes past authentic records into the dim region of legend and myth. History in the true sense of the term is constructed from sources of various kinds, contemporary (or nearly so) with the events concerned, and provided by men whose anxiety was to depict their true nature and sequence. Legend belongs to an earlier period when the story of some event or personality, entrusted to the precarious charge of oral tradition, has had its kernel of fact so worked over by the lively fancy of successive narrators that a folk-tale becomes constructed in which it is extremely difficult to distinguish the original substance of fact from the accretions of fancy. For, as Dr. Skinner says, " imagination, uncontrolled by the critical faculty, does not confine itself to restoring the original colours of a faded picture; it introduces new colours, insensibly modifying the picture till it becomes impossible to tell how much belongs to the real situation and how much to later fancy." Further back than legend or legendary history we find the myth, sacred to gods and heroes, and offering a poetic and fanciful interpretation of strange natural phenomena or human experiences. Now criticism has decided, with a competence that no theory of inspiration is entitled to question, that the Old Testament narratives exhibit each of these three types of national memoirs. In the Books of Samuel

¹ Inter. Crit. Comm. on Genesis, p. vi.

and Kings and elsewhere we have history in the real sense of the term. But in the stories of the patriarchs fact, so it is claimed, is suffused with fancy, tribal acts are poetically ascribed to individuals, double and discrepant explanations of events which can only have happened once are found side by side, and we are faced occasionally with situations which, even to the reasonable believer in miracle, appear somewhat incredible.2 It is maintained, therefore, that in the patriarchal stories the writer of Genesis is availing himself of material which must substantially be classed as legend and tradition. Going further back-to the stories of Creation, of the Fall, of the marriage of "the sons of God" with the daughters of men, of the Deluge, and of the Tower of Babel-we are in the region of myth, where inspiration is utilising the products of human imagination. Criticism has enabled us to trace some of these stories to their earlier home, e.g., the stories of the Creation and the Flood to Babylonian, and of the Fall to Iranian folk-lore, and to know them, when thus traced, for the myths they actually were.

With these different types of material the Spirit of God taught men to work, and to express through them great truths concerning God and man. The universe the work of one God and stamped with His wisdom and love, sin and death the result of man's conscious disobedience to the declared will of God, the righteousness of God revealed in the punishment of human sin,—these are some of the messages which those old myths, purified from their original grossness, are made to yield, with the result that the early chapters of Genesis, if

¹ For a recent vindication of its trustworthiness see Prof. Konig's Article in *Expositor*, April, 1911.

² Dr. Skinner cites instances in his Commentary (pp. vi.-vii.).

they do not depict literal history, are, nevertheless, made, as Westcott said, to "disclose to us a Gospel." The traditions concerning the patriarchs make us, as we read them, see God "standing within the shadow, keeping watch above His own." Representing types of character strangely diverse and yet truly natural and human, the patriarchs have their feet so directed by God that He can be described as "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob." We behold goodness coming to honour in Abraham "the friend of God," the Divine grace caring for outcast Hagar, imperilled Lot, and wandering Jacob. Punishment is meted out to communities like Sodom, and even Jacob, who began by deceiving others and is in turn deceived by Laban and his own sons, is made to teach us that in the long run a man reaps as he sows. And where can we find a stronger presentation of the conviction that Providence watches over the upright man than in the story of Joseph, the blameless youth who goes down through bondage and calumny and the prison, only to find them issue through God into an upward way to honour and renown? Do not the messages thus conveyed ring true to our moral sense? Do they not, whatever view we take as to the absolute historicity of the narratives, commend themselves by their intrinsic quality as "worthy of all acceptation"? Strange must he be who cannot see that the stories of Genesis, when criticism has done its worst, remain part of the "Scripture inspired of God" and "profitable . . . for instruction which is in righteousness"!

To put ourselves, therefore, at the point of view of the author of Genesis, and to see that his primary interest is not archæological or historical, but is to make the folk-lore and traditions of his people the channel

of a religious message, is to be saved much misconception and to acquire also a larger understanding of the ways of the Spirit. Nor have we reached the end. Elsewhere we see the creative imagination set to inspired service, for what is the Book of Job but a sacred drama, in which the clash of tongues poetically represents a war of ideas? What is the Book of Jonah -one of the greatest portions of the Old Testamentbut, on the most credible interpretation of it, a religious allegory, in which the recalcitrant and complaining prophet is brought out of the dimness of tradition in order that, standing for Israel, who required for her due education as to her mission the temporary loss of her national existence in the Exile, he may teach his countrymen that the heathen have the same rights in Yahweh as they, and are intended to come to know through them His grace as well as His judgments? If, too, the Book of Daniel be, as most scholars maintain, a story in which the original substance of fact has become idealised, so that we might almost describe it as "a novel with a purpose," written to assure devout Tews, when suffering from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, that God will vindicate His cause and deliver all who in the hour of trial prove loyal to their faith, in what way have the worth and inspiration of the Book been diminished by that critical theory? Why should we seek to put fetters on the Spirit, and assume, as some almost unconsciously seem to do, that God can speak through fact, but not through fiction; through history, but not through allegory? Let us not thus belittle either God or man, but believe rather in the wonderful versatility of a Spirit who can hallow every human faculty by inspiring it to convey a Divine message to the heart of man.

There is a sense, of course, in which, where actual history is being recorded, the truth of the message is bound up with the truth of the record. If the concern of the Old Testament historians, as they write, is not for mere events, but for the Divine disclosure which they see shining through them, this seems, on the face of it, to require for the validity of the revelation which is being elucidated, that the course of the history shall, in broad outline, have been as the historians describe it. A revelation in history must obviously rest on history. To detach itself from facts and soar into the cloudland of fancy is for the message to cut itself loose from its credentials and discredit its own reality. But this does not involve that, in order to retain its value for revelation, inspired history must be absolutely without error or flaw. After all, the God of history works upon a big canvas, and it is in the broad effects of the picture that we are to read the mind of the artist. Fidelity in discerning and describing the main sweep of history is compatible with much inexactness in detail, e.g., in the duration of a king's reign, or the number of the slain in a particular battle. To enable us to read the soul of Cromwell it is not necessary that the artist should always remind us of the wart. What is necessary, as regards Old Testament history, is that it shall be true in substance, and, though we have not always independent means of testing its possession of this quality, the frankness with which the sins and weaknesses of Israel's heroes are reported, and the absence of any flattering of national pride are presumptive evidence from the records themselves that the aim of the historian has been to give a faithful account of the past.1

¹ Some qualification of this statement is needed as regards the Books of Chronicles, which, composed under priestly influence, repre-

A further problem calls for a passing reference. Among the assured results of Biblical criticism is a revision of opinion as to the date and authorship of certain books of the Bible, or of particular portions of them. Such questions come legitimately within the province of Criticism, and no à priori assumptions as to what in these matters inspiration should involve, can invalidate the findings of scientific inquiry. To most minds, too, a changed view of authorship, if it stood alone, would present no difficulty. Just as the nourishing properties of a loaf of bread do not depend upon our knowledge of who made it, so the spiritual value of Scripture is not bound up with particular theories of authorship, but depends upon the intrinsic qualities of Scripture itself. The real difficulty is other than that just named. It is that writings coming from one author should, with seeming intention, have been sent forth in the name of another. If books, claiming other than their real authorship, are to be regarded as inspired, it almost seems, at first thought, as if the Holy Spirit has thrown His ægis over a device savouring of deception, since a pseudonymous book appears to claim for itself an unmerited authority and value. But we need, ere we pronounce judgment, to have regard to all the facts. In contemplating the Old Testament we are concerned with an earlier epoch and a different race, and we cannot assume that our literary canons of to-day applied with equal validity to the East of more than two thousand years ago. Investigation shows that pseudonymity was by no means a casual

sent an idealised version of the history, a ritual development being read back into the past which belongs really to a later time. On the compatibility of this with inspiration, see Gore, *Lux Mundi* (15th Ed.), p. 259 f.

feature of Oriental literature. The fact, too, that certain books sheltered under authors to whom they did not really belong, was in part a testimonial to the pre-eminence which, in specific literary and didactic departments, those authors had won. It was a species of hero worship, not ignoble in itself, which gave a traditional pre-eminence to Moses in Law, to David in religious song, and to Solomon in proverbs; it testified to the strength of the impulse which each had given to a specific form of literary work. But the practice of borrowing their names meant more than that. The affinity of the new writer with the one whose name he borrowed was as much in the spirit as in the form. If the compiler of a new legal code, ere he began his work, thought himself back into the ideas and spirit of Israel's great law-giver, it was only that he might convey them constructively to his own time, and might realise what new expression of them the immediate situation required. In other words, the new legislation was not an independent growth. The new work was wrought under the spell of reverence for the past; it was an attempt to adapt what already existed and to develop it in harmony with the spirit of the man who had created it. Hence the imaginative soul of the Eastern writer, when he had thus thought himself back into the spirit of some great thinker of the past, could not regard what he himself wrote as unrelated to that thinker. No! it belonged to him; the product was due to his personality taking to itself, so to speak, a new medium, re-expressing itself, and so bringing the original utterance up to date. It is in this imaginative rapport between the new and the old that we must find the real explanation of the pseudonymity of some portions of the Old Testament, and not in an attempt

to invest some feeble production with a spurious authority. For the Books which belong to this class are not feeble. The Book of Deuteronomy, e.g., shines with a beauty and moral elevation which, quite apart from its ascription to Moses, entitle it to a place in the Canon of Scripture. Moreover, it would seem that to the writers of Scripture their message was paramount. As compared with their concern for its due expression and survival, the remembrance of their own passing relation to it was viewed as trivial and unimportant. It is startling to discover how much of the Old Testament is anonymous. Of the writers of quite two-thirds of it we have no knowledge, nor even, in most instances, material for conjecture. And when we remember that from these unknown sources there came such portions, not to mention others, as the Book of Genesis, Job, and Jonah, most of the Psalms, and the section of the Book of Isaiah which deals with the Suffering Servant, we see that it is some of the greatest portions of the Old Testament the tradition of whose authorship, if it ever existed, has been lost. May not this fact teach us that, just as the ascription of his work to another was a sign, where it occurs, that the actual writer viewed what he had written from the standpoint of its message and spirit, we too are meant to apply the same test of value? When we have reached that point of view, the question of authorship, whether real or professed, will be of secondary concern, and we shall understand how the Spirit of God, being supremely interested in the message, was able to remain indifferent to a literary device which related simply to form, and was in any case, however reprehensible it may at first appear, a sincere confession of moral affinity, and not merely an attempt by some third-rate The Old Testament Experience of the Spirit 71 author to arrogate to his writing an illegitimate importance.

D.—THE SPIRIT IN RELIGIOUS LIFE

Revelation, whilst apprehended by thought, contemplates practical ends, and our survey of the operation of the Spirit in pre-Christian times would be incomplete were not some note taken of His influence in the creation of religious character. The extent of that influence is obviously not to be measured by what we have seen to be the late and fragmentary references to it by Old Testament writers, for here again their statement of fact is richer than their formulation of theory. Since insight has its roots in sympathy, and the knowledge of God is conditioned by moral affinity, there is a sense in which the very growth of revelation testifies to a parallel growth of character. It was to "holy men of old" that the Word of God came. Moreover, the convictions mediated through the moral elevation of the prophets enabled those pioneers of both faith and morals to induce a general moral advance, which in turn became the base, through some outstanding personality, of yet further progress. Thus did thought and life interact in those pre-Christian days.

One of the broad characteristics of the Hebrew religion in which, since it was thus distinguished from other ancient faiths, we may observe the hand of the Spirit, was the close connexion maintained between faith and morality. The Divine truth shining in the heavens was mirrored in man's conscience, with the result that knowledge and practice—or, at any rate,

¹ Gray (The Divine Discipline of Israel, pp. 40-1) notices the divorce between theology and morality in Greece.

a sense of obligation to practise—proceed side by side as related products of the one Spirit. Not only are they that love the Lord exhorted to "hate evil," 1 but in such sayings as, "The righteous Yahweh loveth righteousness," 2 and "Ye shall be holy; for I, Yahweh your God, am holy," 3 the moral obligations of man find their measure and sanctions in the holy nature of God. The connexion thus affirmed between faith and conduct is fundamental. Obviously moral obligation, as man realised it, was always relative, for not only was the Divine revelation on which it depended gradually bestowed, but it had to leaven natures in which crude instincts, surviving from primitive conditions, and tribal customs, fortified by long observance, held sway. It was not to be expected that these elements should be dislodged all at once, and it is no surprise, therefore, to find, especially in earlier days, Old Testament saints guilty of conduct which offends our moral sense, or the nation resorting to such action as the ruthless butchery of its enemies with the idea that this policy had been enjoined by God. The apologetic for such moral defects is complete which reminds us that the Spirit's power to teach is limited by man's capacity to learn, and that in those distant days Israel's moral sense had not become sufficiently refined to catch those larger considerations of forbearance and mercy which we, knowing them to be in God, feel must also be exhibited in ourselves. Nevertheless, it is surprising to note to what lofty moral ideals the Old Testament advances. What a passion for righteousness leaps and flames in some of the greater prophets! They are always insisting that religious faith must express itself in appropriate conduct. And so, on the one hand, they are unsparing in their

¹ Psa, xcvii. 10.

^{*} Lev. xix. 2.

denunciation of social wrongs, such as commercial dishonesty, the pollution of the fountain of justice, the grinding down of the poor by the rich; and all who believe in a social application of the Gospel are fortified by the utterances of the prophets. On the other hand, they are equally unsparing in their scorn for religious observances divorced from morality. With which power Isaiah in his opening chapter pours contumely on Israel's "temple-treading," and declares God's weariness of the "vain oblations" of rams and bullocks, the uselessness of worship when the hands outstretched in prayer are "stained with blood"! "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before Mine eyes "-so rings out the Divine imperative. We find the same message in Hosea's avowal 2 that God desires "mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burntofferings," in Micah's beautiful summary of religious duty 3 as being "to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly" with God, or in the great words of Amos 4 where, after repudiating in God's name sacrifices and ritual observances, he pleads with the nation to "let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as an everflowing stream." Such sayings belong to the imperishable treasure of religion.

It is quite true that the motives on which in the Old Testament obedience to moral precepts is enjoined are predominantly utilitarian. To "eat the good of the land" or to prolong one's days are motives which appear alike in the Law, the prophets, and the poetical books.⁵ But we notice that another motive, love to

of Israel, p. 107 ff.

 ¹ Isa. i. 10-17.
 ² Hosea vi. 6.
 ³ Micah vi. 8.
 ⁴ Amos v. 21-24.
 ⁵ Detailed illustration will be found in Gray, The Divine Discipline

God and a consequent sense of personal devotion to Him, enters into competition with considerations of expediency, and though it does not succeed in displacing them even in the latest stages of religious reflection, it holds open a door of welcome to the loftier appeal of the Gospel. Moreover, in yet another direction, viz., the spiritualising of religion, in that it passes from external correctness to inner rectitude, we observe progress. What can be finer than Jeremiah's forecast 1 of the new covenant, when God's law would be written in the heart, and all would know the Lord from the least to the greatest? So spiritual a conception of religion represents the high-water mark of religious reflection. It may seem as though, in the development of legalism which followed the Exile, Judaism drew away from that ideal; yet it is well to remember that legalism, in spite of its devotion to the outward, is not necessarily the foe of the inward. The delight in the Law which some of the psalmists exhibit,2 and rabbinic sayings such as "Whether a man offers much or little is all one, if only his heart be directed towards God," and that ascribed to Antigonus of Socho, "Be not like servants who serve their master for the sake of reward," show that legalism, whatever its general tendency, did not always issue in formalism.3 Finally, when we remember the attitude of Jesus to the Old Testament, and see how He sets the seal of His endorsement on some of its great words and nourished His own spiritual life upon it, we can feel how surely its religious ideals must have been the product of the Spirit of God.

But His operation is manifest also in the attempts of men to realise these ideals. The Old Testament

¹ Jer. xxxi. 31-34.
² E.g., the author of Psa. cxix.
³ See Mr. Montefiore in *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. III. p. 648 ff.

presents us with a series of characters who are all, in varying ways, types of moral excellence. Abraham, the religious pioneer, making the great venture of faith; Jacob, that strange blend of opposites, winning through much conflict and adversity victory for his higher self; Moses, meek even to the point of self-effacement, yet taking up loyally and sustaining bravely the most thankless of burdens; David, a man in whom the tide of passion ran strong, so that sin cast him to the ground, yet having a true zeal for God and His worship so that, even when he fell, it was with his face looking upwards; Elijah, as rugged in speech and ways as his own mountains of Gilead, yet tender at heart, and utterly fearless for God; Jeremiah, the man of sorrows, torn with anguish for the people whose sins he cannot but denounce,—these are some of the great souls which the Old Testament reveals to us. It has been well said that they and others exhibit "not virtues merely, but graces." "Such qualities as kindness and fidelity, modesty and simplicity, domestic affection and friendship, the discipline and repression of self are abundantly exemplified." Even when we allow for the play of idealisation in the Old Testament narratives, there will still remain sufficient substance of fact in the stories of those old-time worthies to make the contemplation of them a source of inspiration and profit. We know, too, how their virtues are perpetuated in others, ofttimes the poor and lowly, "the quiet in the land," who, even in days of persecution or religious indifference, kept alight the lamp of faith and nourished a vital piety. At the same time, no one would claim that the Old Testament saints are flawless. They exhibit faults incident to the moral standpoint of their age or

springing out of the constitution of their own nature. But if we have sins recorded, there is disclosed also, on the part of both individuals and the community, a growing sense of sin, which, even if it stood alone, would be an assured proof that the Spirit of God was moving at the roots of Israel's life. For a consciousness of sin implies not only a knowledge of duty, but disappointment and self-reproach at failure to attain. The sense of sin, therefore, like the sense of pain, is really a sign of life; it betokens the wistful longing of the soul to retrieve its failure and regain what it has lost.

Yet once again, in the devotional spirit of the Old Testament religion, we discern a Divine product. The prayers and praises of Jewish saints, as they are reflected in the Psalms, make a permanent appeal to devout souls. For there we see the human spirit in every mood of religious emotion, sighing forth its penitence, voicing its adoration or aspiration, breaking into exultant thanksgiving, or rapt in devout meditation, as it contemplates the power and goodness of God. There is no mood of the soul for which this ancient hymnal does not furnish befitting expression. Hence, in spite of occasional defects, e.g., despair of immortality, and the vindictiveness towards enemies which breathes in what are known as the "imprecatory" psalms, the Psalter has maintained a unique place in devotional literature, and has been the fountain from which the Church of all lands and times has drawn draughts of living water. Moreover, the Psalms, as a whole, are the expression of an actual experience. Love towards God, hope in His mercy, trust in His Providence, thanks-

¹ The devotional spirit is exhibited elsewhere also, e.g., in Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Job (See Driver, *ibid*, p. 63).

giving for His loving-kindness, reverence for His holiness—emotions that are of the very soul of religion,—are seen there in actual exercise; they represent not a precept or an aspiration, but an achievement; they are the gracious and spontaneous response of human souls to the claims of God. Therein lies the deepest significance of the Psalms, for they gather up within the compass of a single Book an exhibition of all the rich fruitage of grace which the Holy Spirit, working with a revelation that in both content and dynamic fell short of that which we owe to Christ, was, nevertheless, able to produce in the heart of man.

CHAPTER III

The Spirit in Non-Canonical Writings

In the discussion of the Holy Spirit the passage from the Old Testament to the New cannot be made until some account has been taken of the movement and expression of thought in the two centuries which preceded the public ministry of Jesus. Our sources of information are chiefly the group of books commonly known as the Apocrypha, a number of apocalyptical writings, the most important of which are the Book of Enoch and the Sibylline Oracles, and the works of Philo, the distinguished Jewish thinker who flourished at Alexandria at the dawn of the Christian Era. During this period various currents were sweeping through Judaism, occasioned in part by the distribution of the Tewish people over three main areas, viz., Palestine, Babylon, and Egypt. The temporary independence won for the Palestinian Jews by the Maccabees was followed by their subjugation in 63 B.C. by Pompey and their incorporation with the all-powerful Roman Empire. In religion the prophet had been succeeded by the priest, and he in turn had yielded pride of place and influence to the scribe, whose main work was to expound the precepts of the existing Law and expand them to meet the changing conditions of Jewish life. This development, coupled with the passion. fostered largely by the Pharisees, to keep the Jews distinct from their neighbours by the erection of a fence

of outward and ceremonial observances, had its effect upon religion in that it became legalistic, and upon doctrine in that God became conceived as transcendent. The heavens were no longer viewed as neighbourly with man. An unspiritual conception of holiness which saw the possibility of defilement to God in His contact with matter, led to His relegation to heaven, the void thus created between Him and the earth being filled with a host of angels, divided into ranks and hierarchies,1 who, as subordinate agencies, served as channels of communication between God and the world. With this enlarged scheme of angelology there went a corresponding development of demonology, such animistic tendencies as already existed in Judaism being stimulated in both of these directions by the influence of the Persian religion which, being an elevated form of monotheism and having other points of affinity with Judaism, was able all the more easily to provoke doctrinal advance therein, especially on such speculative matters as the unseen world and the future state. Nor were these all the forces making for change, for, in addition, at Alexandria, Jewish thinkers, moving in a Greek atmosphere, came under the influence of Greek philosophy, with the result that characteristic Jewish ideas became surveyed from a different point of view, and were cast into the mould of a new terminology. It is the cumulative influence of these various movements which makes the study of this period so important in several directions for our understanding of Jesus and the Apostolic age.

Yet, so far as the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is concerned, there was practically no advance made. One thing which strikes us, as we read the literature of the

¹ Paul's "thrones," "dominions," "principalities" and "powers" (Col. i. 16).

period, is the paucity of its references to the Spirit. And the few which we find seem to be echoes rather than new and living voices. When, e.g., in the Book of Iudith 1 we read: "Let all Thy creation serve Thee: for Thou spakest, and they were made, Thou didst send forth Thy Spirit, and it builded them, and there is none that shall resist Thy voice," in substance we have nothing that has not already been told us in Psa. xxxiii. 5. Moreover, in the passage quoted, it is simply with the origin of the universe that the Spirit is associated; it is only in the Book of Wisdom that we are told that "the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the world, and that which holdeth all things together hath knowledge of every voice," 2 where we have the idea of the permeation of the world by God, with the result that He has a perfect acquaintance with all unrighteousness, and is able to produce conviction in human transgressors.3 The notion lying at the back of that conception is not so much what the presence of the Spirit in it does for the universe in creating and sustaining it, as what His diffused presence does for the Spirit Himself in furnishing Him with knowledge of all human behaviour, and so enabling Him to quicken within men the remembrance of sin. In the apocalyptic literature the relation of the Spirit to the world is obscured by the host of spirit-beings who are called into service as agents of God, to whom, just because

¹ xvi. 14. That passage and Psa. xxxiii. 5 are in keeping with Gen. i. 2, 3.

² Wisdom i. 7.

³ This is taught in Wisdom xii. I f. "For Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things. Wherefore Thou convictest by little and little them that fall from the right way, and putting them in remembrance by the right things wherein they sin, dost Thou admonish them, that escaping from their wickedness they may believe on Thee, O Lord."

of these subordinate agencies with which speculation supplied Him, there is applied again and again the title "Lord of spirits." These spirits were represented as having been called into existence by God on the first day of the Creation; 2 by Him were determined also their rank and function. The most exalted were "the angels of the Presence" and "the angels of sanctification." Seventy of them were appointed as the tutelary spirits of the heathen nations, God Himself acting in this capacity for Israel,4 whilst others were put in charge of the various elements of nature, so that we find named in an enumeration in the Book of Jubilees 5 such spirits as "angels of the spirit of fire," "angels of hail," "angels of hoar-frost," "angels of thunder." In these fantastic speculations, which were an attempt to safeguard the transcendence of God, and yet to provide for some sort of supernatural contact with the world, we are far removed from the simple faith in God's nearness to man which we find expressed in some of the Psalms,6 and which came to re-birth in the teaching of Jesus.

Speculation was able thus to run riot in the region of the supernatural, because there was no immediate experience which was felt to correspond to what the older faith had recognised as the distinct product of the Spirit. Of all the activities attributed by the Old

¹ Applied to God one hundred times in the Book of Enoch. Also in 2 Macc. iii. 24.

² Jubilees ii. 2.

³ Cp. Luke i. 19, where Gabriel is one of this order.

⁴ Jubilees xv. 31, 32. Another tradition, however, represented Michael as the tutelary spirit of Israel (Dan. xii. 1). The notion of "angels" for the heathen nations appears also in Deut. xxxii, 8, 9, according to one old reading.

⁵ ii. 2. Cp. Rev. xiv. 8.

⁶ E.g., Psa. cxxxix. 7-10.

Testament to the Spirit of God none had been so impressive as the gift of prophecy. But during the period which we are now considering the voice of prophecy was dumb. It was one of the laments of the Maccabæan age that there was no prophet to serve as the leader of the nation, or to give instruction as to what should be done with the stones of the altar which Antiochus Epiphanes had defiled with his unholy offerings. There was no consciousness at that time 2 of an inspiration supplying new truth direct from the mind of God. In the absence of an experience possessing such characteristics as the thought of that age would have attributed to the Spirit, it is no wonder that the doctrine of the Spirit went backward rather than forward. Such conceptions as previous thought had transmitted were preserved, yet not in a very living way. The Jews of the time, however unable they seemed to be, largely through their doctrine of the Divine isolation from the world, to attribute deep religious feeling within themselves to the Spirit of God, took over, in their references to the past days of their religion, the religious terminology which had been hallowed by previous use. Thus the Spirit is represented as prompting in Enoch the vision-utterance of which he is made the nominal mouthpiece,3 and words put into the lips of Isaac and Rebekah are attributed

¹ I Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41.

² The Book of Wisdom, which was written a century later than the Maccabæan revolt, is, as we shall see, an exception to this. Moreover, in connexion with that very revolt, what one writer has said (Wood, The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature, p. 71) is perfectly true: "First and Second Maccabees and Daniel are each in a different way witnesses for a very profound religious feeling of exactly the sort that in other ages, either earlier or later, would have been ascribed to the Spirit."

³ Enoch lxxi. 5. xci. 1.

to the descent upon them of "the Spirit of prophecy." 1 So too Pharaoh is made to say concerning Joseph that "the Spirit of the Lord is with him," whilst the son of Sirach, speaking of Isaiah says: "He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last; and he comforted them that mourned in Sion." Moreover, in a way that recalls Old Testament language, capacities or virtues, whether exemplified by angels (as in the Book of Enoch) or men, are spoken of in a quasipersonal fashion as "a spirit of wisdom" or "a spirit of understanding," or, in one instance, "a holy spirit of discipline." Qualities so described easily attached to the conception of the coming Messiah, who, according to one writer, is to be "mighty through the spirit of holiness," and whose rule is to be "in the spirit of wisdom and of righteousness and of might." 5 Sayings, too, which speak of "the spirit of righteousness" being poured out upon Him, and "the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of Him who gives knowledge and the spirit of understanding and of might "6 describe in language reminiscent of Isaiah the large spiritual equipment which was to be vouchsafed by God to the Messianic King for the discharge of His great vocation.

In all this what is true is not new. Out of all the literature of this period it is the Book of Wisdom to which we owe the most striking contribution to the doctrine of the Spirit. That Book is a product of Alexandrian Judaism, and reflects, therefore, the influence which Greek philosophy exerted on that section of the Jewish world. Moreover, it showed itself heir

¹ Jubilees xxxi. 12, xxv. 14. ² Jubilees xl. 5.

³ Ecclus. xlviii. 24.

⁴ Enoch lxi. 11, Ecclus. xxxix. 6, Wisdom i. 5.

Psalms of Solomon xvii. 42, xviii. 8.

⁶ Enoch lxii. 2, xlix. 3.

to that calm and reflective outlook upon human life which had already gained for itself distinct expression in what is called "the Wisdom literature" of the Old Testament. Unlike the prophets, who set great store by the Spirit of God, the "Sages," as the leaders of this other school of thought may be called, made their boast of Wisdom. There lay expressed the essential difference between the prophet and the sage. The prophet was the man for a crisis; it was some great hour which called him forth; it was a message for the immediate moment which he felt inspired to know and constrained to declare. Hence the prophet was an intermittent figure, with the result that the intervention of the Spirit, viewed as chiefly apparent in the abnormal, came to be regarded as dramatic and intermittent too. "The Spirit of God," as one has said,1 "was a light that flashed for a moment out of prevailing darkness, a messenger which came as an alien into a strange and hostile world." But if the crisis, and with it the need for the prophet, only came now and then, there were always the ordinary duties of life to be done, and it was felt that from the quiet observation of the wide range of human affairs in the dry light of a practical commonsense, there could be derived a store of moral maxims which might be of real service. Hence the sages were essentially moralists, and their method was to announce themselves as the exponents of Wisdom who, since all life is the province of her disciples, is pictured as having her delight with the sons of men, and as uttering her message "in the street," "the chief place of concourse." "the entering in of the gates," 2-everywhere, indeed,

¹ Prof. T. Rees, from whose essay on "The Holy Spirit as Wisdom" (Mansfield College Essays) much of what follows in this discussion has been derived.

² Prov. i. 20, 21

where the shifting drama of human life and fortune afforded material for the illustration and enforcement

of a common-sense morality.

The prophet and the sage move, therefore, on different levels, and exhibit different tempers. The former is at home in a crisis, his interest is concentrated on some particular problem, and his pronouncement concerning it is fierce and passionate. But intensity is the last characteristic of the sage. He lives for all days, and makes the common happenings of life his study, evolving from them, as he surveys them in the light of a shrewd worldly wisdom, lessons which are expressed in the polished aphorisms and prudential maxims of the calm and leisured thinker. This difference ran up into the conceptions of the Spirit and Wisdom to which, respectively, prophet and sage ascribed their inspiration. It is quite true that the two conceptions were not without some approach to identity. On the one hand, when the Spirit of God is spoken of as inspiring carpenters with skill, a general with the gift of leadership, or an administrator with sagacity, the qualities spoken of, though viewed probably as abnormal in their degree, and as bestowed for a specific function, had in them something of the shrewd common-sense which the sage felt to be his main requisite for the due comprehension of human life. On the other hand, Wisdom, like the Spirit, is set forth as something external to the sage, is associated with God, and is almost invested with the element of personality, for Wisdom is said to have been possessed by God "in the beginning of His way, before His works of old," and at the creation to have been by His side "as a master workman." By this poetic representation nothing more may have been

¹ Prov. viii. 22-31.

meant than that the world, as framed by God, was designed to exhibit the operation of rational and moral principles, but even in that quasi-personification there was an element which made it possible for the apparently alien conceptions of the Spirit and Wisdom to draw near to each other.

It is in the Book of Wisdom, however, that their identification with each other is first brought to pass, the fusion being effected the more easily because of the fading of the doctrine of the Spirit, on the one hand, and the merging of the conception of Wisdom, on the other, into a larger notion. Greek philosophy has an ideal conception of Wisdom. With "Reason" and "Mind" as alternative terms, "Wisdom" appears in the philosophy of Plato as a cosmic principle, a Divine idea stamped upon the universe, which at the same time, however, is the highest principle on which individual conduct and social organisation can be based. In both nature and man, therefore, Wisdom is the principle of law and order. To that terminology the Stoic philosophy, taking "Spirit," which in Greek thought had simply meant at first the principle of physical life, and reading into it an intellectual and ideal sense, added that word as a synonymn, so that "Wisdom," "Reason," and "Spirit" became convertible terms. This was the opportunity of the Jewish-Greek philosophy of Alex-

¹ This is the idea which Philo sees in the passage. "At all events," he says, "we shall speak with justice, if we say that the Creator of the universe is also the father of His creation; and that the mother was the knowledge of the Creator, with whom God united, but not as man unites, and begat creation. This knowledge having received, the seed of God, when the day of her travail arrived, brought forth her only and well-beloved son, perceptible by the senses, namely, this world. Therefore some one of the divine company introduces Wisdom as speaking of herself in this manner: 'God possessed me as the first of His works and from eternity He established me.'"

andria. Always seeking to find for the religious conceptions transmitted by Judaism a place in the larger world of Greek thought, it treated the "Wisdom" and "Spirit" of Hebrew literature as identical with each other, and one also with the cosmic principle which, under those names or that of "Reason" (or "Logos"), Greek thinkers had conceived as manifested in the organisation of the world and the experience of man. It is this identification which is set forth in the Book of Wisdom. In one passage, it is true, the author speaks of there being in Wisdom "a Spirit quick of understanding, holy,"1 as if there were some distinction between the two, but, with that exception, his language points to their identity. For not only is it "a Spirit of Wisdom" which, through calling upon God, he has received as the source of his own enlightment,2 but in two passages 3 he identifies "Wisdom" with the Spirit of God. After declaring that "Wisdom is a Spirit that loveth man, and she will not hold a blasphemer guiltless for his lips," the reason urged for this is "because the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the world," i.e., it is the ubiquity of the Judge which makes the universal judgment of human speech and thought possible. Here evidently "the Spirit that loveth man" and "the Spirit of the Lord "have one and the same reference. "Who ever," the author says again, "gained knowledge of Thy counsel, except Thou gavest Wisdom, and sentest Thy Holy Spirit from on high?" Moreover, functions which the Hebrew writers, in harmony with their conceptions, would have assigned to the Holy Spirit, are here attributed to Wisdom. Not only is Wisdom "the artificer of all things," 4 the source of knowledge and virtue in man, the disciplinary and educative in-

¹ vii. 22. ² vii. 7. ³ i. 6, 7, ix. 17. ⁴ vii. 22.

fluence in human history, individual and national, but she is the medium of Divine revelation and the ground of prophetic inspiration. This view is expressed in words of such beauty that they deserve to be quoted in full. We are told that

"Wisdom is more mobile than any motion:

Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness.

For she is a breath of the power of God,
And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty.
Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
For she is an effulgence from everlasting light,
And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
And an image of His goodness.
And she, being one, can do all things;
And remaining in herself, reneweth all things:

And from generation to generation require into

And from generation to generation passing into holy souls

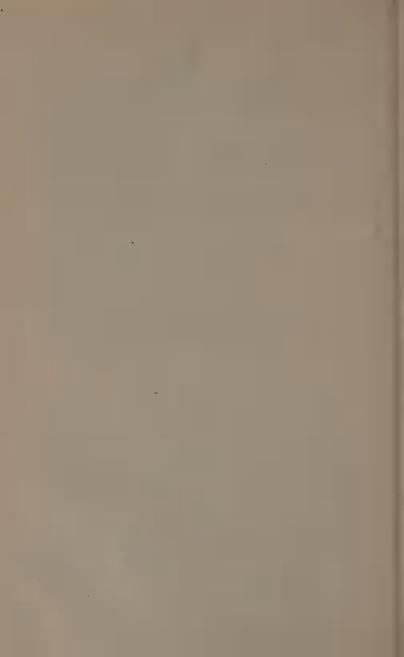
She maketh them friends of God and prophets.

For nothing doth God love save him that dwelleth with Wisdom."

In yet another passage 3 identity of function is assumed between Wisdom and God's "all-powerful Word" or "Logos." Thus in Alexandrian Judaism the Spirit and Wisdom of the Old Testament literature melted into a unity which was a gain in one direction, inasmuch as Wisdom, instead of being restricted to that practical morality which to the Hebrew sages was its sole reference, becomes the universal reason which is inherent in both nature and man. But, on the other hand, this extention of the denotation carried with it a shrinkage in the connotation, for Wisdom moved in the direction of abstraction,—it more easily suggested a principle than

¹ Chapters x.-xii. ² vii. 24-28. ³ xviii. 15; cp. x. 15, 16.

a person,—and to that extent the word "Spirit," which meant to the Hebrew thinker the realised operation of a personal God, so that there was always the possibility of the Spirit being itself conceived as personal, was rendered almost superfluous. The religious interest was sacrificed to the intellectual, and a vital element in religion thereby imperilled. How that danger was averted and how the conceptions of the Book of Wisdom fared as they entered into New Testament thought are problems which will confront us later.



II THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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CHAPTER IV

The Terminology of the New Testament

As a preliminary to the more detailed examination of that presentation of the Holy Spirit which is furnished in the thought and life of the New Testament, some attention must be given to the terminology which is employed. One of the things which must arrest even a careless reader of the New Testament, if he comes to it by way of the literature we have already discussed, is the amazing profusion of the references to the Spirit. It is like coming from the rare and stunted flora of northern latitudes into the luxuriant fertility of the tropics. This disparity between the two Testaments is even more pronounced than appears on the surface, if we remember how extremely brief, as regards both the amount of its contents and the time embraced by their composition, the New Testament is as compared with the Old. Out of the twenty-seven pieces of literature -several of them exceedingly brief-which go to form the New Testament, there are only three-and those the very shortest of all, viz., the Second and Third Epistles of John, and the Epistle to Philemon-in which we do not find some reference to the Holy Spirit.

Now the very wealth of this allusion is suggestive. The least that it can apply is a clearer recognition of the Holy Spirit in His operations than was the case in the Old Testament, where, as we have seen, com-

prehension, and, therefore, expression lagged behind experience. But it can imply also a larger experience of the Spirit, the copiousness of the references being an attempt to keep pace with the plenitude and variety of the spiritual operations of which the early Christian society knew itself to be the sphere. That both inferences are true—the larger experience not less than the clearer recognition—is attested by the very nature of the terminology which the New Testament employs In the Old Testament the titles used for the Spirit are, in descending order of frequence, "the Spirit of the Lord," "the Spirit of God," and "Holy Spirit," this last term being found in two passages only. But in the New Testament not only is this order reversed, the titles "the Spirit of the Lord," or "the Spirit of God" occurring only about eighteen times altogether, whilst "Holy Spirit" (with or without the article in the original) is found five times as often, but the simple term "Spirit" (with or without the article) occurs most frequently of all.1 Several interesting facts are reflected in this relative use of terms. To begin with, the common use of the word "Spirit," with no defining adjective or prepositional clause, is significant of the familiar place which the Holy Spirit thus described had come to assume—obviously through the plenitude of His manifestations-first, in the experience and, then, in the thought of the Church. As Dr. Swete says: "The presence and working of the Spirit of God are no longer conceived of as rare and isolated phenomena, but as entering into all Christian thought and work, an element in life so universal, so constantly meeting the observer, that the briefest of names was sufficient

¹ An analysis of the usages is given in Winstanley's Spirit in the New Testament, p. 122

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to indicate it." 1 This is all the more remarkable when we remember that it was into a world viewed as haunted by spiritual presences of more than one grade or kind that the Gospel message is pictured as coming. The Holy Spirit had by no means the spiritual domain to Himself. The Gospels speak repeatedly of "evil" or "unclean spirits," whilst to Paul there are arrayed against the Christian the "principalities" and the "powers," "the spiritualities of wickedness in the heavenly places." Moral qualities and mental tendencies are also semi-personified, so that we are told of a "a spirit of faith," "a spirit of adoption," "a spirit of power," or of "a spirit of bondage," "a spirit of error." Behind some of these terms, especially those which point to mental or spiritual perversion, there lies undoubtedly the conception of real personal agencies, invisible in their nature, which were regarded as able to influence the inner life of men, though other terms, again, will describe a certain quality or gift as inhering in the human spirit, its presence there being regarded, according to its nature, as due to the operation of the Holy Spirit on the one hand, or of demonic agency on the other. In view, therefore, of this supposed activity of manifold "spirits," the frequence with which the simple term "Spirit" is used in the New Testament to designate the Spirit of God is all the more impressive, since it shows that He had come to fill such a familiar place in the thought-world of the early Christians that this briefest of designations could, with no peril of misunderstanding, be employed to denote Him.

Moreover, light is shed upon the nature of the Spirit's

¹ The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 287.

² Eph. vi. 12. The words in the original are τὰ πνευματικά.

operation, as that was viewed by the Early Church. For why is it, we ask, that when it is thought fit to add some defining element to the term "Spirit," the epithet "Holy" is the one most frequently employed? Must not the explanation be the increased vividness with which the Spirit was seen to be, above all things else, the power for the creation of holiness in character and life? It is the ultimate realisation of this view which is one of the most valuable achievements of the Christian faith. To a Jew the epithet "Holy" would in any case suggest that the Spirit had some association with God, so that the Gift shared in the holiness which belonged to the Giver. But one of the things which we owe to the New Testament is that deepened view of the Divine holiness which, instead of making it consist of separation from matter or from objects and persons that could impart ceremonial defilement, saw in God's holiness the perfect exhibition of purity and righteousness. In proportion as the conception of God thus became ethicised, the Spirit of God took on the same moral perfection, and this, in turn, was seen to be not only the essential quality of the Spirit Himself, but the intended product of His indwelling in man. Holy Himself He comes to make us holy too, so that St. Paul could have offered no more conclusive argument against a Christian's indulgence in unhallowed vice than when he asks: "Know ve not that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you, which ye have from God?" "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit." 2 A God who has come to be known as supremely ethical, must

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ As it did, e.g., in that legalistic view of religion which was fostered by the Rabbis.

² I Cor. vi. 17, 19.

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seek "graces," and not merely "gifts," as the chief fruit of His influence upon man. The tendency of the Alexandrian school of thought had been to emphasise the work of the Spirit in the domain of knowledgea result which was attained all the more easily because of the Spirit's identification with Wisdom in the broad sense in which that term was current in Greek philosophy. Hence to Philo Divine inspiration is synonymous with illumination. In his scheme of thought the Spirit of God "is the pure knowledge in which every wise man partakes," and which, while possessed by some men in an exceptional degree, belongs in some measure to all. We owe it to Jesus and, as regards the unfolding of the doctrine of the Spirit, to Paul that the intellectual ministry of the Spirit was made subordinate to the ethical, so that His supreme work, just because of His own essential holiness, is to "sanctify all the elect people of God."

But a further advance, as reflected in the New Testament terminology, has to be named. We noticed that in the two instances ² in the Old Testament where the phrase "Holy Spirit" occurs, it has the possessive pronouns "His" and "Thy" prefixed to it, the inference being that the "Holy Spirit" was viewed, so to speak, as a piece of the Divine property, a sort of appendage to the being of God. But the nearest approach in the New Testament to that mode of expression, apart from its occurrence in I Thess. iv. 8, is found simply in the solitary phrase in which Paul speaks of "the Holy Spirit of God." The common usage is for "Holy Spirit" and "Spirit" to stand alone. By itself that modification of Old Testament phraseology might not mean a great deal, but,

¹ Gigant 5, 11. ² Psa, li, 11; Isa, lxiii, 10. ³ Eph, iv. 30.

taken in conjunction with another fact, it must be allowed real significance. There is one distinction in the Greek of the New Testament which our English translation is inadequate to mark, viz., that the terms "Spirit" and "Holy Spirit" are often found with, and often without, the definite article. Thus in Mark i. 8 the literal translation is, "He shall baptize you with Holy Spirit," just as, on the other hand, in Rom. viii. 26, the rendering, "And in like manner the Spirit helpeth our infirmity," correctly reproduces the definiteness of the term "Spirit" in that passage. Now this difference attaches constantly to the use of the terms in the original, and careful analysis has shown that, when those cases are ignored in which the presence or absence of the article is due to special idioms in Greek grammer, there is a broad distinction exhibited by the two usages. The construction without the article is common in such a phrase as "full of the Holy Spirit," 2 or in connexion with such verbs as "to give," 3 "to receive," 4 "to baptize," 5 i.e., whenever the Holy Spirit is viewed from the standpoint of His operations, and so is referred to in terms that are peculiarly appropriate to an energy or influence or gift. But when the Holy Spirit is spoken of in connexions which suggest personal action or relations, e.g., when He "helps," 6 "makes intercession," 7 "speaks," 8 or is "resisted," 9 "spoken against," 10 or "grieved," 11 the fact that He is regarded as discharging personal functions is brought

¹ E.g., the frequent omission of the article in prepositional phrases, or its use as "the article of back reference," or its insertion in dependent Genitive phrases in obedience to the law of correlation or balance. * Luke iv. 1.

⁸ Luke xi. 13.

⁴ Acts viii. 17.

⁵ Mark i. 8.

⁶ Rom. viii. 26.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Acts xiii, 2. 11 Eph. iv. 30.

⁹ Acts vii. 51.

¹⁰ Mark iii. 29.

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out by the use of the article in the original. The very structure of the Greek original of the New Testament testifies that, while the Holy Spirit was still realised to be, as in the Old Testament, an Influence or Energy, there was a growing conviction in the Early Church that He was also a Person. It is quite certain that, in its conception of the Spirit, the New Testament virtually begins where the Old leaves off,1 and in quite a number of passages in both the Gospels and the Acts where the Spirit is referred to, the interpretation that it is God manifesting Himself in some operation or influence satisfies both the language and the thought. But there was a larger view also attained and expressed. Not only are such distinctly personal functions as teaching 2 and praying assigned to the Spirit, but He is spoken of as being sent by God 3 and as proceeding from Him.4 He also intercedes for the saints according to the will of God, the desires of the Spirit on man's behalf being understood by Him to whom the intercession is presented.⁵ Moreover, in the Fourth Gospel not only is the masculine term "Paraclete" applied to the Spirit and, very significantly, the masculine form of the demonstrative ("He" instead of "It") found where, according to strict grammatical concord we ought to have had the neuter,6 but the whole conception of the Paraclete in the discourse of the Upper Room moves within the region of personality. Christ was going away, but He tells His disciples that the gap created by His withdrawal was to be filled by the coming of Another. Person was to be replaced by Person.

¹ See p. 105. ² John xiv. 26. ³ Ibid. ⁴ John xv. 26. ⁵ Rom. viii. 26, 27.

ξκεινος is made to represent the neuter noun πνεθμα in John xiv.
 26, xvi. 13 f.

To interpret Christ's words as meaning simply that His influence was to abide with His Church, is to do less than justice to them. A man's influence is much, but the man himself is more. What Christ thought of in the Paraclete was not Someone or Something less than Himself. No! the Spirit was to fill the vacancy, becoming to the disciples all that Christ had been. As Teacher and Inspirer He was to take them beyond the point to which Christ had led them, and was to fulfil all the functions of a Divine personality. Hence whilst figures applicable to the conception of the Spirit as an Influence or Energy persist, so that He is an "unction," or a "gift," or something with which men are "baptized" or "filled," and the disciples could be assured just before Pentecost that His coming would mean to them the reception of "power," the Gift and the Giver are one in that to receive the Gift is to receive Him with whose nature and presence it is incorporated. The endowment of Pentecost consisted in the reception of a Personal Spirit.

Such are the directions in which the terminology of the New Testament points. To these preliminary considerations another needs to be added, viz., the limitation of the sphere of the Spirit as He is exhibited to us in the New Testament. We observe a re-distribution of the functions which are assigned to Him in the older literature. There no small part of His activities were concerned with the cosmos—with its creation in the first instance, and with the subsequent maintenance therein of order and life. But in the New Testament these functions fall, not to the Spirit, but to the Son. It is Jesus Christ "through whom are all things." ² Of Him "the image of the invisible God, the firstborn

¹ Acts i. 8.

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of all creation," it is affirmed that "all things have been created through Him and unto Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things hold together." 1 We are led to ask how this transference of the cosmic relationship came to be made. It is difficult not to believe that it was due to the influence of the Wisdom literature. There, as we have seen,2 especially in the Alexandrian philosophy, "Spirit" became merged in the larger term "Wisdom," which was mainly concerned with intellectual illumination. For this reason the notion of "Wisdom" easily attached itself to Christ, in whose Person and work it was felt that a whole world of new truth concerning God had come into view. He who had commanded nature's light to shine out of darkness, had shined into men's hearts "to give the illumination of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." It is significant that Paul, who affords evidence 4 that he had studied the Book of Wisdom, deliberately styles Jesus in one passage "the wisdom of God." 5 It is suggestive, too, that two books of the New Testament which also have clear affinities with the Alexandrian philosophy, viz., the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel, make the same identification. For in the Epistle it is the Son "who, being the effulgence of His'" (i.e., God's) "glory and the very image of His substance "-language recalling a passage from the Book of Wisdom which has already been quoted 6is the Agent "through whom also He made the worlds." 7 And in the Fourth Gospel the purpose of the Prologue is to identify the Jesus of history with the Word or Logos, of whom it is affirmed that He "was in the

⁴ See Sanday and Headlam's Romans, pp. 51 f., 267 ff.

⁵ I Cor. i. 24. ⁶ p. 88. ⁷ Heb. i. 2, 3.

beginning with God," and that "all things were made through Him." 1 Clearly, therefore, it was the merging of the Spirit and, therefore, of all His functions, cosmic included, into Wisdom, and the subsequent identification of Wisdom with Christ, which led to the cosmic activities assigned to the Spirit in the Old Testament being transferred to Christ in the New. But there the influence of the Wisdom school of thought ceased; it was not able to prevent the resurgence of the Spirit in another direction and for other work. For men who knew that in Christ they had found the very truth of God, knew also that within their hearts, transcending all previous experience, there was a mystic Power which was making the truth in Christ increasingly clear to them, and through it transforming and elevating the whole quality and tenor of their life. What could this unseen Energy be but that Spirit which ancient prophecy had always associated with the Messianic age, and whose diffusion and activity were, therefore, naturally accounted for by the Messiahship of Jesus? It was experience, always stronger than abstract reasoning, which thus leaped over the speculations of the Wisdom School, and, obtaining a foothold in the Old Testament conceptions of the Spirit in His relations to man and the Messiah, started the doctrine of the Spirit on a fresh career. His activities, as the New Testament describe them, are concerned simply with man, and move wholly within the confines of the Christian revelation—a fact which is at once the strength and the weakness of the presentation—but the explanation is that the New Testament writers work from practical rather than speculative considerations, and are all the while not so much formulating a theory as describing an experi-

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ence. Hence their outlook does not travel beyond the world of thought and fact which was their interest and home. What they, moving within that world, have to say concerning the nature and work of the Holy Spirit it is now our business to see.

CHAPTER V

The Spirit in Jesus

As we open the pages of the Gospels, we find ourselves at once in an atmosphere swept by spiritual currents. We possess only two accounts of the infancy of Jesus, but these, both in their individual features and in their differences from each other, present so many problems that it has become diffcult, if not impossible, to determine how far the narratives are a transcript of actual events, or how far devout imagination, working, it may be, with some substance of fact, has created them. The problem of historicity is only incidental to our present discussion,1 and it may be dismissed with the broad admission which must, we think, reluctantly be made, that, the narratives themselves being mainly the compelling ground of the concession, we cannot feel ourselves in the Nativity stories as indubitably planted on the foothold of history as in the reports of our Lord's public ministry. But, taking the Infancy narratives at their face value, two things emerge as to the Holy Spirit. The first is that the birth of Jesus took place amid conditions that seemed peculiarly sensitive to the Spirit of God. We learn this fact mainly from Luke whose interest in reporting spiritual phenomena is one of his chief characteristics

¹ It must be admitted, however, that if the historicity of the narratives could be effectually disproved, some modification of the dogma derived from them would necessarily follow.

as an author.1 He it is who records the prediction concerning the Baptist that "even from his mother's womb" he was to be "filled with the Holy Spirit," and so be enabled in due course to fulfil a prophetic ministry recalling the spiritual power of Elijah.2 Of the intermediate years of preparation we are told that "the hand of the Lord," i.e., a directing and quickening influence from God, was upon this child of destiny.3 Moreover, his father and mother both have moments of insight and elevation when they speak as those who are inspired.4 As it was with the Baptist, so was it also with the infant Jesus. At His presentation in the Temple Simeon, in whom there had been inspired a conviction that he would live to see the face of the Messiah, came "in the Spirit into the Temple," and, recognising in Mary's babe the hope of his nation, broke forth into an exalted utterance of praise and prophecy, being joined therein by Anna, an aged prophetess, who came at that moment upon the scene, and subsequently spoke to congenial souls of God's fulfilment of prophetic expectation.⁵ It is to be observed that in all these instances the Holy Spirit is conceived after the fashion of the Old Testament. Not only, as the Greek original indicates,6 is the notion that of a Divine influence or activity rather than a Person, but the Spirit's operation runs into Old Testament moulds. He is active either in the preparation of a

¹ This point is discussed at length by C. Campbell (Critical Studies in St. Luke's Gospel).

<sup>Luke i. 15, 17.
Luke i. 66. This O.T. phrase is used to describe the divine</sup> action upon, among others, Elijah (1 Kings xviii, 46).

⁴ Luke i. 42, 67.

Luke ii. 25-32, 36-38.

^{6 &}quot;Spirit" lacks the article in each reference.

prophet, John, like Jeremiah ¹ before him, being spoken of as indicated to the prophetic office from his very birth, or in occasional visitations to devout saints who, at such moments, evince the same unusual elevation and insight as marked the Old Testament prophets. To this extent do the Christian records preserve the tradition of peculiar spiritual phenomena in the neighbourhood of Christ's advent.

The other and more important feature in the Nativity stories is the declared relation of the Spirit to Jesus Himself. Our Lord is presented to us as One, who, if not the child of the Holy Spirit, owes His conception in Mary to an exercise of the power of God. In the Gospel of Matthew we are twice told 2 that the babe in Mary's womb was "of the Holy Spirit," whilst Luke, in words which by their Hebrew parallelism suggest that we are reading poetry, reports as an angelic announcement to Mary: "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." 3 The terms "Holy Spirit" and "power of the Highest" are synonymous, and indicate that here again we are moving on the plane of Old Testament ideas. Did we possess nothing beyond those words of Luke, we might interpret them as a Christian hymn 4 expressing poetically the idea that Mary, in a conception of Jesus which otherwise was perfectly normal, was under the influence of a special Divine energy. But the sober prose of Matthew cannot be dissolved into poetry. Even Usener is forced to admit that Matthew's narrative is dominated by the presupposition of the Virgin-Birth.⁵ The difficulties

⁴ This is the view taken by Briggs (New Light on the Life of Jesus).

Art. Nativity (Ency. Bibl., col. 3350).

which that dogma presents to faith can only be briefly recited.1 They are constituted not simply by the natural improbability of such a Birth, but by the fact that, except in Matthew and Luke, the New Testament is silent about it. Paul seems unaware of the Virgin-Birth. The dogma is absent from the earliest Gospel, that of Mark, and it does not appear in the latest, that of John.2 Evidently the faith of the Church in our Lord's Divinity was not based upon this theory of His human origin. Moreover, the Synoptic Gospels, even within the Infancy stories themselves, apart from the passages under discussion, use in relation to Jesus language which is compatible with a birth in the normal way.3 This may only imply, however, that the story of Christ's supernatural origin was late in its publication, though it must have been early enough for Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who was martyred about 110 A.D., to speak of "the virginity of Mary and her childbearing" as "one of the secrets to be cried aloud," which were wrought in the silence of God. The matterof-fact way in which Ignatius refers to the idea proves that even then it was no recent addition to the body of Christian doctrine. Hence we may confidently date it back several decades, and regard it as among the traditional matters which the first and third Evangelists found in their sources.

¹ For a full statement of the case for, and against, the dogma, the reader is referred to the abundant literature on the subject. An excellent summary of the discussion is to be found in Dr. Peake's Christianity: Its Nature and Its Truth (chap. xi.).

^{*} Except in an interesting variant reading of John i. 13, for which see Dr. Peake's discussion.

The two genealogies trace in each case the descent of Joseph. Also Joseph and Mary are referred to as Christ's "parents" (even Mary saying, "Thy father and I"), whilst the men of Nazareth speak of Jesus as "the son of Joseph."

Since, therefore, we cannot resolve Matthew's account of the Virgin-Birth into poetry, we are shut up to one of two alternatives. The story either reflects a wonderful fact which, from obvious considerations of delicacy, was kept locked in the breast of Mary during her lifetime, and only made public after her decease, or it is legendary, and was created within the Church by the devout feeling that it was impossible for such a being as Jesus to have entered humanity in the normal way. Critics, however, if they incline to the latter view, are surely bound to show not simply the constructive motive of the myth, but the material with which its creators worked. The story in Matthew betrays so close a familiarity with Jewish marriagecustoms that it must have arisen within a Jewish-Christian circle, and one, therefore, not likely to be easily influenced by the crude myths of the unions of gods with mortals which were current among the Gentiles. The Jewish conception of God was more restrained.1 Recently a theory has been gaining ground that the story of the Virgin-Birth may have been a product of the syncretism, the strange blending of diverse forms of thought, which marks the early Christian centuries. The story told in the Apocalypse 2 about the woman who flees from the dragon, whilst her man-child is caught up to heaven, is strangely like a myth which, supposed by Gunkel to be originally a Babylonian story concerning the birth of Marduk, was current in Greece in connexion with Apollo and his mother Leto, whilst Egypt had a similar myth con-

¹ Some allowance, however, must be made for the figure of Psa. ii. 7, where God says in relation to the Messianic King, "This day have I begotten thee," the "day" there referred to being, not that of the King's birth, but of His coronation.

Rev. xii.

cerning Hathor and her child Horus. In the Apocalypse the rapture of the child to heaven immediately after his birth, the Messiah's earthly career being thus ignored, is too remote from the facts for a Christian to have originated this symbolism to depict Christ, while other considerations rule out a purely Jewish source for it. It has been maintained, therefore, that a myth belonging to the syncretism of the time has been borrowed by the Jewish-Christian author of the Apocalypse, and modified so as to fit the situation to which his message was addressed, though it is claimed also that the story in its altered form may represent an attempt to combine two Jewish views concerning the Messiah, one that He was to be born of a woman, the other that He was heavenly in His origin. It would seem, in any case, as though even Tewish-Christians of the 1st century were not wholly impervious to the myths current in the thought of their time, nor even unwilling to adapt them to Christian service.2 Accordingly some have been quick to see in the story of the Virgin-Birth another attempt, more complete than

² The statement, therefore, in my St. John and other N.T. Teachers (p. 95) doubting the foreign origin of the "woman with child" symbol, requires modification. Readers will find a fuller discussion of this particular point in Dr. Peake's contribution to Mansfield College Essays (pp. 94-97).

¹ The story, as told in Greek mythology, is to the effect that Leto (or Latona), with child by Zeus the heaven-god, wanders from Crete over Greece, Thrace, and the Greek Archipelago, seeking a place, where her child may be born. Finally she takes refuge in Delos, and there gives birth to Apollo, who, immediately after his birth, slays with the first arrow from his bow, Python, a hideous monster who is menacing his mother. The story is evidently a nature-myth telling how light, viewed as both beneficent and destructive in its effects, gives birth to the spring which vanquishes the winter that has filled the land with foul marsh and mist. The Egyptian myth is similar to the Greek.

the symbolism of the Apocalypse, to ascribe a dual origin to Christ, and define Him as the child at once of earth and heaven.1 It seems, however, a far cry from the obvious symbolism of the last book of the New Testament to the apparently literal narrative of the first. What should, therefore, content us in a problem bristling with difficulty, and where, to cautious thinkers, the data on either side are insufficient to justify dogmatism, is the broad conviction that the existence of Jesus Christ in the world had its origin and explanation in the power of God. After all, whether the stories in Matthew and Luke be historical or mythical in form, this is the belief which they are meant to express as held by the Church. To Christians the term "Son of God," when applied to Jesus, came to mean more than the Messiah viewed simply as the object of the Divine good-pleasure. It was ultimately felt that this ethical Sonship of Jesus ran up into one that was metaphysical—a Sonship which, since it related not to office, but to nature, must have belonged to Jesus from the very beginning, making it necessary, therefore, that the conditions of His birth should provide for this quality of being. That these were the reflections under which the story of Matthew and Luke was shaped, is suggested by the words which Luke appends to the mention of Mary's overshadowing by the Spirit: "Wherefore also that which is to be born, shall be called holy, Son of God." Even then, as Dr. Denny says, the action of the Spirit must be viewed as creative, not sexual. To call the Spirit the "father," or, as is the case in the pseudo-Gospel to the Hebrews,2 the

¹ In their amplification of this theory some critics regard the dragon of the original myth as suggesting the story of Herod and his malignity towards the infant Tesus.

² Jesus is represented as saying: "My mother, the Holy Spirit."

"mother" of Jesus is to obscure a spiritual fact by a gross mode of conceiving it.

We come next to an event, viz., the Baptism of Jesus, known to all the Evangelists, for though John gives no direct report of it, he refers to it in a way which shows that with him, as with the Synoptists, it was an accepted portion of the Evangelic tradition. Two things make that event a crisis in the life of Jesus, for it marked the realisation by Him of His Messianic vocation, and His reception of the Divine equipment for it. The conviction was mediated by a Divine communication to the soul of Jesus; the equipment consisted in His baptism by the Holy Spirit. We have no reason to think that this experience came to Jesus with no psychological preparation. Our data for reconstructing the inner life of Jesus are always less complete than we desire; nevertheless, we know that the expectation, already existing in the Jewish people, of the near advent of the Messiah, had been greatly quickened by the ministry of the Baptist. The religious movement which he inaugurated, had the Messianic era as its objective. "The rule of God," John proclaimed, "is at hand. He who is mightier than I is coming to inaugurate it; prepare yourselves to receive Him." John's baptism, therefore, while it symbolised cleansing from past sin, had mainly a forward look, it contemplated the founding of the kingdom of God. The widespread interest excited became specially intense in the hearts of the devout. It was the interest of Jesus in this new religious movement and His wish to associate Himself with its aspirations, that drew Him

¹ This is the primary meaning of the phrase generally translated "kingdom of God." It denotes, in the first instance, not the realm, but the sovereignty exercised in it.

from His Galilean home to the banks of the Jordan. He had evidently been pondering with eagerness the Messianic teaching of the Old Testament, for it is significant that the consciousness that He was the Messiah was flashed into His soul by means of two passages from that Book. The words, "Thou art My Son," are addressed to the Messianic King in Psa. ii. 7, whilst "My Beloved, in Thee I took pleasure," recalls God's approval of the Suffering Servant in Isa. xlii. I. His identity with the being thus pre-figured was in this fashion revealed to the mind of Jesus. The symbolic phenomena—the dove-like appearance and the voice from heaven-which seemed to Jesus to attend His Baptism, need not detain us. Critics have doubted their reality, and we can detect in some of the Gospels, e.g., in John, a tendency to objectify them. But if we accept, as critical considerations suggest that we should, the earliest account, viz., that of Mark, as being the most trustworthy, nothing is reported which, while it belonged to an inward and subjective experience, was not also spiritually real-real, that is, to Jesus.1 "A voice from heaven," simply defines a message which is felt to have its source from God. Such voices do not come to utter truths already admitted and familiar; they are the messengers of new truth. Whatever dull whisperings, therefore, of a Messianic consciousness had previously been heard by Jesus, now rose to the clear and unmistakeable assurance that He was to be the Founder of the kingdom of God. That assurance was confirmed by the flood of Divine power which at the same moment filled His soul. A quickening of His thought, an emotional elevation amounting almost to rapture, a sense of abundant

¹ This point will come up for fuller discussion later (see p. 137 ff.).

energy flowing into His nature and filling it—thus must we interpret this Baptism of Jesus by the Spirit.¹ It meant that with the call had come the equipment, with the new vocation the sense of a power within

adequate to its discharge.

Observe what follows, for the Temptation is inseparably bound up with the Baptism. Jesus, in the intense shock of His new consciousness, was in no mood for intercourse with men. His soul in its soaring rapture could not adjust itself to ordinary conditions. He needed to be alone with His own thoughts and God. For there were grave problems demanding instant solution. He who now knew Himself to be the Messiah, had to determine what sort of a Messiah He would be. Was He to gratify the popular expectation, and be a child of mystery and marvels, and establish a kingdom worldly in character and founded on force? Or was He to pursue spiritual ends, and avoid dramatic and vulgar display? Were the abnormal powers which He now felt Himself to possess, to be used for personal ends, or were they designed simply for what came within the scope of His work? It is the determination of these issues, and the choice of the nobler alternative to the rejection of the baser that are reflected in the Temptation of Jesus. That experience was a necessary sequel to the Baptism. Hence Jesus is pictured as being forced out into the wilderness by a constraint from within, or as being led up and down there like

¹ The dove-like form which the Spirit, descending upon Jesus, seemed to assume, had a meaning for the soul of Jesus. It suggested the gentleness and purity which, in the purpose of God, were to characterise both Jesus and His work. Instead of the violent and stormy procedure expected from the Messiah by the Baptist, Jesus was intended by God to work by methods of gentleness and love.

one Divinely possessed. So exalted is He in mood, so absorbed in His own thoughts that, like one under a spell, He is dead to external sights and sounds, and unaware even of hunger. There is nothing here which, viewed from the human side, cannot be explained by psychology as belonging to an intense mental experience. So the story of the Temptation, through a parabolic form which we probably owe to Jesus Himself, simply tells us how He who at the Baptism had learnt His vocation and received His equipment, was, next, led by the indwelling Spirit to determine His programme.

The Holy Spirit was thus the chrism of Jesus for His office. Hence, as Luke formally declares, it was "in the power of the Spirit" that Jesus returned into Galilee 3 and inaugurated His mission. It is quite true that in their reports of Christ's work the Synoptists rarely mention the Spirit by name, even Luke isolating simply one incident in Christ's experience—a mood of rapturous emotion—by associating it with the Spirit. But this very silence has its significance. The meaning is that from the Baptism the presence of the Holy Spirit in Jesus, instead of being viewed as occasional or fitful, as was sometimes the inspiration of the prophets, was regarded as permanent, and as the power in which all His Messianic duties were discharged. And in taking this view the Evangelists were but expressing the mind

¹ Mark (i. 12) has the strong expression, "The Spirit driveth Him into the wilderness." Luke (iv. 1), again, speaks of Jesus being led about in the wilderness "in the Spirit," this phrase in its grammatical form being exactly parallel to Mark's description of a demoniac as "a man in an unclean spirit" (Mark i. 23). The suggestion, therefore, is that during the Temptation Jesus was "possessed" by, or under the strong control of, the Spirit.

There is no need to dismiss the story as invented and mythical.

Luke iv. 14.

Luke x. 21.

of Jesus Himself. For in the synagogue at Nazareth it is He who directly applies to Himself the great word of prophecy beginning," The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me," and who not only recites the main features of His Messianic programme in the words that follow, but points to His anointing by the Spirit as the seal of His appointment and the source of His competence.1 But in this view, thus attested as common to Jesus and His interpreters, there is one acute difficulty on which the Evangelists are silent. It may be asked how it was that a Being, conceived as Divine in nature through the mode of His birth, required any baptism by the Spirit for His work. Why were not the powers already inherent in Him sufficient? To this problem the Evangelists supply no answer. Indeed, some scholars, probably with an excessive acuteness, have detected in the curiously indirect way in which Luke introduces his account of the Baptism,2 an attempt, due to a sense of incongruity with the Nativity story, to slur over, as it were, an incident which fidelity to the Evangelic tradition would not permit him to suppress. But probably our difficulty did not occur to the Evangelist, for even John, who presents Jesus as the Divine Word coming out of an eternal life with God to incarnate Himself in man, refers, nevertheless, to Christ's Baptism by the Spirit,3 and again and again depicts Jesus as living and working in dependence on the power of God. It may well be, therefore, that the presentation of the Evangelists is at variance, not so much with the fact of an Incarnation, as with certain theories of it. It is obvious that absolute Godhead cannot subsist under finite conditions. Consequently the Incarnation must have in-

Luke iv. 18. The quotation is from Isa, lxi. 1 f.

² Luke iii. 21.

³ John i. 31-34.

volved some limitation of the Divine, some shrinkage of the nature of that self-emptying which Paul 1 attributes to Christ at the moment of His entrance into the Incarnate state. The actual or possible extent of that Kenosis cannot be settled by abstract reflection; what we require is a positive instance of its occurrence. Being satisfied, therefore, on grounds which pertain to that belief, that Jesus was the God-man, we need to let the facts disclosed in the Gospels determine how far it was a real humanity-real in its characteristics of age and race, in the nature and limitations of its knowledge, real, above all, in its dependence upon God for moral fidelity and progress—that was exhibited in Jesus. Doctrine must keep its foothold in history, and the facts of Christ's experience which appear in the Gospels must be our starting-point in the construction of a theology of His Person.

The public ministry of Jesus assumed the two forms of teaching and healing. Not only are both of these aspects reflected in the Isaianic passage which Jesus applied to Himself at Nazareth, but in the opening incident of Christ's ministry, as Mark reports it,² there appear two features—a fresh and arresting message and a power to relieve human suffering. Yet, strange to say, the Synoptists never explicitly connect the teaching of Jesus with the Holy Spirit. The instructions which Jesus gave to the Apostles after His resurrection are said in Acts i. 2 to have been given "through the Holy Spirit," and this statement may by its very explicitness be intended to teach that Jesus, though He had

¹ Phil. ii. 5-8. The phrase "emptied Himself" has suggested the term Kenosis (lit., "emptying"), which is employed to describe the theory of the Incarnation derived from that passage.

² Mark i. 21-27.

then passed into new conditions, still maintained the pose of dependence which, it is assumed, had belonged to Him before. This inference is encouraged by Christ's great saying, reported in both Matthew and Luke,1 concerning the intimate fellowship existing between Himself and God. "All things," He said, "have been delivered unto Me of My Father." By this He meant, as the context makes plain, all things that were needed for the fulfilment of His vocation. Moreover, included in them was the deeper knowledge of God as Father which, though hidden "from the wise and prudent," was being disclosed to "babes" through the Son, the sole depository of it. It is quite true that in this connexion the Father, the final source of the knowledge, alone is mentioned, and nothing is said concerning the Spirit as mediating it to the mind of Jesus; but the Spirit's operation, as a necessary factor in revelation, is assumed. Similarly, in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus speaks repeatedly as one who derived His message from God. "I can of Myself do nothing: as I hear, I judge." "I do nothing of Myself, but as the Father taught Me, I speak these things." "The words that I say unto you I speak not from Myself: but the Father abiding in Me doeth His works." 2 Moreover, that Gospel is even more explicit. In an interesting passage 3 in which Jesus is described as "He that cometh from heaven," so that His witness concerning "heavenly things" relates to "what He has seen and heard," room is still

² John v. 30, viii. 28, xiv. 10. Cp. xii. 49.

¹ Matt. xi. 25-27, Luke x. 21, 22.

³ John iii. 31-35. The section of John iii. in which this occurs is thought by many scholars to represent a meditation by the Evangelist rather than actual words spoken by Jesus. But even then the passage is decisive as to the belief of the Early Church that the Spirit was concerned with the teaching of Jesus.

found for the operation in Christ of the Spirit of God. For whilst "the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hands" (words strangely akin to the saying in Matthew and Luke), the reason urged why "He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God" is that "He" (i.e., God) "giveth not the Spirit by measure," 1 i.e., it is not a limited, but, up to the capacity of human nature, a perfect, equipment of the Spirit which has been bestowed on Christ, constituting Him fit to communicate the things of God. There we have the belief reflected that behind the teaching of Jesus lay an inspiration analogous in kind to that which wrought in the prophets, though greater in its degree. It may be necessary later to inquire within what limits the revelation thus conveyed to Christ was confined, but, meanwhile, in the essential elements of His teaching there was a message which, not only in its substance, but in the readiness with which it was always available, the vividness and beauty of the literary forms in which Jesus clothed it, and the accent of conviction and authority with which it was uttered, pointed to Divine inspiration, and justified Jesus in claiming that His words would endure 2

The other phase of our Lord's Messianic activity was healing. The range and variety of the miracles wrought by Jesus are matters of debate, but even the most thoroughgoing scepticism finds it difficult to eliminate them altogether. They are congruous with Christ's mission, in that they shed light upon the nature of God and the scope of redemption.³ But they are evidences

² Mark xiii. 31 and parallels.

¹ For other renderings of the phrase and the arguments in favour of this see Expos. Greek Test.

³ They suggest that God's purpose includes salvation from social and physical evils, as well as from sin.

also of the Divine energy which was resident in Him who wrought them, and hence Jesus quite fittingly described them on one occasion as "mighty works."1 The conviction that the chrism of the Spirit bestowed at His Baptism made Him competent to do abnormal things, seems to have been reached by Christ forthwith, for one of the issues which the Temptation appears to have determined, was the limitations under which this power was to be used. Miracle, therefore, was evidently a feature of Christ's public work. In the words of Peter,² Jesus "went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed" (or "held under the tyranny") " of the devil," the explanation of this beneficent activity on the part of Jesus being that "God anointed Him with the Holy Spirit and with power," and that "God was with Him." Hence the view put before us is that the miracles of Jesus were wrought in the power of the Holy Spirit; they were signs of the Divine energy with which He was filled. There was one type of miracle, viz., the cure of demonic possession, in connexion with which Christ Himself felt specially concerned to enforce this view. It was a popular belief of the time that evil spirits were able to insinuate themselves into the human organism, and by their indwelling to work serious physical and mental mischief. This view, the product of primitive reflection and applied originally to all disease, became, with a more scientific comprehension of the human body, restricted to maladies which were mysterious in character, or which, as in the case of the spasmodic contortions of epilepsy or the incoherent

Matt. xi. 21. The Greek word literally means "powers."

² Acts x. 38.

³ The word in the original is very expressive, the strong meaning of the simple verb being intensified by the compound form which is used.

ravings of lunacy, suggested that the limbs or faculties were being controlled by some power within the man other than himself. So far as the Gospels are concerned, demonic possession does not embrace all that popular superstition even so late as the 2nd century attributed to it, for physicians are spoken of as well as exorcists, and diseases like palsy, blindness, leprosy, &c., are described in the ordinary way. Only in the case of a small circle of maladies is demonic possession assumed. To discuss its real nature lies outside our present purpose.1 What is of immediate importance is that among the Evangelists Luke, a trained physician, and disposed, therefore, as we should imagine, to take a scientific view of disease, manifests a specially keen interest in cases of demonic possession cured by Jesus 2 and, indeed, in spirit-phenomena generally. Most important of all is the fact that Jesus spoke and acted as if He believed in the reality of demonic possession Himself.3 He "rebuked" a fever, as if it were a malignant living creature 4; He described the woman suffering from spinal weakness as "bound" by Satan,5 though it should be added that, apart from these two instances, demonic possession, as recognised by Jesus, was restricted to a few abnormal and mysterious ailments. He treated these, however, as being what they were popularly supposed to be, and He regarded it as part of His Messianic

¹ In many cases it was obviously an unscientific explanation of ordinary mental or nervous disorder.

² See on this subject a most valuable paper by J. Naylor, on "Luke the Physician and Ancient Medicine" (*Hibbert Journal*, Vol. viii., p. 28 ff.).

³ Even then, of course, criticism claims the right to consider how far the idea was simply part of the beliefs of the time into which, through the limitations of the Incarnation, Jesus was bound to come.

⁴ Luke iv. 39. ⁵ Luke xiii. 16.

work to expel the demons who had intruded into the bodies of men, and to repair the mischief wrought by them.

The conception under discussion was part of a larger generalisation. Demons were viewed as belonging to a vast confederacy of evil owning allegiance to its prince, Satan the arch-enemy of God and the supreme foe of man.1 This organisation, having the air as, so to speak, its home and base (so that Satan is described as "the prince of the power of the air "2), exercised a baleful influence in and through men,3 so that to Jesus it was vital to the establishment of a true sovereignty of God in the world that the power usurped by Satan should be broken and "the prince of this world" cast out. This idea is also enforced in other portions of the New Testament. "To this end," says one writer, "was the Son of God manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil." 4 On this view we can understand how Jesus could speak as if, in His cures of the demonized, the kingdom of God was obviously at close grips with the kingdom of evil. Demoniacs were the plainest sign of the intrusion into this world of an alien and evil power. In the ejection of that power, therefore, from those whom it was holding down there was clear evidence

¹ Hence Paul asserts that the Christian wrestling is not simply "against flesh and blood," *i.e.*, against merely human antagonists, "but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph. vi. 12).

² Eph. ii. ². He is referred to also as "the god" or "the prince of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4, John xii. 31), this world being the sphere

in which he exhibits most acutely his hostility to God.

³ Though demons were thought capable of entering into other creatures, e.g., swine.

⁴ I John iii. 8. Similar teaching is found in I Cor. xv. 24 f., Heb. ii. 14.

that another kingdom, contemplating simply man's good, had been inaugurated and was making headway. Every demoniac cured meant that "a stronghold of Satan," so to speak, had been pulled down, territory held by him evacuated, and God's rule made effective. Confronting the kingdom of evil, with Satan at its head, there was the kingdom of God, with the Holy Spirit as the supreme Power with which all its agents worked. Ouite naturally, therefore, does Jesus declare to the Pharisees: "If I by the Spirit of God cast out demons, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." 1 To Jesus it was unthinkable that demons could be cast out through collusion with Satan, as the Pharisees in their prejudice had alleged. That meant, if it were true, that the kingdom of evil was in a state of revolt, and Satan casting himself out-a preposterous theory! If "the strong man" was being subdued, it could only be because a stronger than he had entered the lists against him. We see, therefore, that the corner-stone of Christ's whole argument is His conviction that the cure of demoniacs was an achievement of the Holy Spirit through Him. And that explains what He meant by "the sin against the Holy Spirit." 2 Much exegetical ingenuity has run to waste over that curious phrase. Hatred of what is Divine, indifference to moral good, persistent rejection of the offers of grace, a determined refusal to repent—it has been taken to mean all these things. But in reality it describes an offence the nature of which must be sought in the immediate context of Christ's reference to it. It consists in attributing to a malign

¹ Matt. xii. 28. In the parallel passage in Luke (xi. 20) the rendering is "by the finger of God"—a phrase which recalls various O.T. passages (e.g., Ex. viii. 19, xxxi. 18), and vividly suggests the operation of God.

² Matt. xii. 31 and parallels.

power acts of beneficence which clearly had their source in the Spirit of God. Men who could be guilty of such blasphemy had plainly lost the faculty of moral distinction; they had put out their eyes so that they no longer knew the difference between light and darkness. Their uttered prejudice was more than an act of sin; the failure to recognise the Divine working in its most conspicuous manifestation bespoke a radical perversion of nature. So "the sin against the Holy Ghost" is the symptom of a state in which discernment of good and capacity to appreciate it have fully disappeared, and forgiveness is impossible, because there can be no sensitiveness to sin. "Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone."

There is no passage in the Gospels connecting the Holy Spirit with the inner and religious life of Jesus, nevertheless the existence of such a connexion may be assumed. The God who came to men in Jesus is above all things ethical, and it is the ethical in Christ which makes Him the supreme revealer in God. His works and words were the vehicle of that manifestation, but it came also through what he was. The holiness of Christ,—a much better term to describe the quality of His nature than sinlessness, since it connotes positive and not merely negative, elements—above all, His love, emptied of all self-regarding elements and ever

¹ We need not infer that the Pharisees, to whom Jesus was speaking, had actually reached this condition. They were in danger of so doing, but the fact that Jesus argues with them, as if to convince them that they were wrong, implies that as yet they were open to conviction. The distinction which Jesus draws between blasphemy against Himself and against the Spirit will be a distinction between slanders affecting Himself as a mere individual, e.g., the charge of being gluttonous and a wine-bibber, and radically perverted judgments of the ethical quality of His work, and so of the Spirit through whom it was wrought.

unstinted in its outflow, made Him the perfect manifestation of a God of holiness and love. Yet this moral perfection was the result of a development. It was not a gift to Christ, but an achievement by Him. The development may not have been normal so as to include with Him, as it does with us, the elimination of inherited tendency to evil 1 but it was certainly normal in that it meant a progressive realisation of the will of God, and a persistent habit of obedience to it. Jesus grew in the Divine favour, even as He did in wisdom and stature²: the discipline of life schooled Him in the practice of obedience.3 Hence, though there was no growth into goodness (for Christ's perfect oneness of will with God can be traced right back to His childhood), there was growth in goodness; Christ's perfect devotion to the Divine will was called to, and found expression in, new acts of obedience. His life had in it all the elements—recognised duty, hardship and suffering, temptation to wrong-doing-which constitute human discipline, and create normally a need of God, if man is to do the will of God. Moreover, Christ implicitly confessed that such a need was His, for we find Him using those avenues of supply by which the Spirit furnishes help to the needy and believing soul. Jesus habitually practised social worship 4; His knowledge of the Scriptures, enriched by constant and inspired medita-

¹ Even if it had, sin, it requires to be said, consists, not in the presence of an evil tendency, but in its passage, through gratification, into a sinful act. It is possible, too, that Paul's saying that Jesus was sent "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. viii. 3), bears the meaning that He was actually like us in that He too possessed "flesh of sin."

² Luke ii. 52.

³ Heb. v. 8. He "learned obedience by the things which He suffered."

^{4&}quot; He entered, as His custom was, into the synagogue on the Sabbath day" (Luke iv. 16).

tion, supplied Him not simply with material for public teaching, but with light upon duty and means of defence against the assaults of temptation; He was much given to prayer, and especially to private communion with His Father at great crises in His ministry, when the importance of some step He felt prompted to take, e.g., the choice of the Twelve, or the discernment of some new and grave issue in His vocation, such as the conviction attained before the Transfiguration that the goal of His public ministry was to be the Cross, or, as at Gethsemane, the imminence of the Cross itself, made Him realise a special need of the enlightening and sustaining grace of God. Moreover, that help came in answer to the need thus confessed is certain -the fact is symbolically attested by the angels who ministered to Jesus in the wilderness of His Temptation and in the garden of His Agony. 1 Jesus achieved His moral perfection in the power of the Spirit—a fact which constitutes Him an inspiration, as well as a pattern, to all His followers. Moreover, His obedience was perfect. He rose to every new demand which life made upon Him. Of Him it was always true: "I seek not mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me." 2 His whole life was that of One who was perfectly responsive to the Divine movement within Him. Jesus was "led by the Spirit of God." Once let the path marked out by God become clear to Him and, even though it leads to the Cross, He can with fierce rebuke denounce as "Satan" a beloved disciple who seeks to divert Him from it,3 and His face becomes

¹ Matt. iv. II, Luke xxii. 43.

² John v. 30.

³ Mark viii. 33. Of special significance, as throwing light upon the inner thoughts of Jesus, are the words: "Thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men."

"stedfastly set" towards the appointed goal. In Gethsemane not even the instinctive shrinking of His nature from all that the Cross involved availed to break His submission to the will of God. "He became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross "1_ that Cross which on its Divine and mystic side was a transaction for human sin, but, as an event in history. was, in its relation to the moral personality of Jesus, an exhibition of obedience carried to the ultimate, of a devotion to the Divine will that rebelled not at the surrender of life itself.2 Such was the rare flower of moral loveliness which the Holy Spirit, permeating and enabling the being of Jesus, produced upon the soil of the human spirit, with the result that Jesus is to us at once the noblest of men and a perfect revelation through man of the holy love of God.

The general impression which this survey of Jesus should leave is that of the naturalness behind the supernatural. The Holy Spirit acted upon Jesus, not to the suppression, but to the intensification, of the human. Christ's humanity was not made one whit less real by the Divine presence within Him. We can even well believe that features in Him which seem to us preternatural, nevertheless existed in Him in obedience to spiritual laws which, because of His moral perfection attained there an operation unique not so much in kind as in degree. George Macdonald used to say: "In order to understand a miracle, I need to understand the man who did it." Much turns upon that personal equation. It is surely significant that in the

¹ Phil. ii. 8.

² The phrase "through an eternal spirit offered Himself without blemish to God" (Heb. ix. 14), does not refer to the Holy Spirit, but to Christ's own spirit which, being the sphere of His offering and abiding in its nature, gave absolute and abiding worth to the sacrifice.

completely holy manhood of Jesus the Holy Spirit was vouchsafed a perfect organ within which to exercise, with the result that Jesus, both in His perceptions of spiritual truth and in His sovereignty over physical conditions, transcended the normal powers even of His brethren the prophets. It is not strange that the plenary endowment should have had effects correspondingly great. The question has been raised in some quarters 1 as to whether the Spirit produced in Iesus any of these abnormal experiences, sometimes amounting almost to the temporary unbalancing of human rationality, which we shall find associated with His working in the Early Church.² There is no convincing evidence that He did. The nearest approach to such an occurrence is Christ's mood of elevated rapture at the Baptism, or that similar, though less sustained, mood which possessed Christ later when, as He journeyed towards Jerusalem, so withdrawn within Himself did He become that the disciples, forgotten for the moment, were awed by an absorption on which they feared to intrude. But, generally speaking, Jesus, though frequently invaded by intense emotion, remained balanced in both thought and deed. Even His brethren, when they declared Him to be out of His mind,3 or the Pharisees when, putting the same charge in a more offensive way, they said, "He hath Beelzebub," 4 need have had nothing further to justify them than the abnormal intensity with which Jesus, carried away by His earnestness, was doing His work.5 So, too, when Luke speaks of Jesus as exulting "in

¹ By J. Weiss, O. Holtzmann.

² See ch. on "Spiritual Gifts."

³ Mark iii. 21. ⁴ Mark iii. 22.

⁵ We are told (Mark iii. 20) that Jesus and His disciples "could not so much as eat bread" owing to the claims of the multitude.

the Holy Spirit," 1 what we find is an emotion almost rapturous combined, nevertheless, with singular clearness and elevation of thought. The joy created by the successful mission of the disciples, since their victories assured to the prophetic gaze of Jesus the final humiliation of Satan, swelled to the rapture of triumph as He recalled that all these things were pledged to Him in the will of His Father. Surely our Lord's words on that occasion, though vividly inspired, are remote from "a kind of glossolaly," as J. Weiss would describe them! There is in Jesus nothing that can rightly be called "fanatical." Subject to emotions intense enough to produce in some men the "pneumatic" state Jesus, nevertheless, save in one or two rare hours, preserved a balanced consciousness, clear in sight and sane in speech, and was not less natural because He was inspired. Such was the manifestation of the Spirit in the Son of Man.

¹ Luke x. 21. The context is extremely important.

CHAPTER VI

The Inner Meaning of Pentecost 1

In the Synoptic Gospels there are a few sayings attributed to Jesus which describe the Holy Spirit as a gift that the disciples were some day to receive. One saying,2 differently worded in each of those Gospels but clearly reporting the same utterance, was, according to Mark's account, spoken by Jesus in the last week of His public ministry, when He with the disciples was seated on the Mount of Olives. The shadow of the Cross was lying on the soul of Jesus. He knew that He was soon to be taken from His disciples, and that they, left to continue His work, would, like Himself, meet with unfriendliness and even open hostility. Hence He warns them what to expect. He speaks of them being led to tribunals and delivered over to courts; "but in such emergencies," He adds, "do not be concerned to think out beforehand what ye shall speak, but say what shall be given you at the moment; for the Holy Spirit will teach you what to say, and the speaker will not be you, but the Holy Spirit in you." Thus may we paraphrase this saying of Jesus in which there is promised to the disciples an occasional activity of the Spirit, intellectual in character, and akin to that

² Matt. x. 20, Mark xiii. 11, Luke xii. 12. The same idea is repeated in Luke xxi. 14, 15.

¹ Throughout this chapter "Pentecost" is used as an abbreviated expression to describe the first Pentecost after Christ's ascension.

suggested by the Johannine term "Paraclete." But this promise simply contemplated special emergencies. A more abiding activity of the Spirit is implied in the words which Luke ascribes to Jesus after His resurrection. "Behold," said He to the disciples, "I send forth the promise of My Father upon you," 2 the gift thus specified being identical with the "power from on high," for their endowment with which the disciples were to tarry at Jerusalem, or, as parallel statements in the Acts 3 indicate, with the Holy Spirit as the gift promised by God to His people. Old Testament prophecies with this reference 4 are probably in view, but not they only, for though we can find no similar promise attributed to Jesus by the Synoptists, the fact that "Father," His characteristic name for God, is associated with the promise suggests, as Swete urges,5 that some such pledge had been given on behalf of God by Jesus Himself—a view that points to the historicity of the promises which we actually find in the Fourth Gospel. "I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete," "The Holy Spirit whom the Father will send in My name "6—thus does John depict Jesus as speaking in the discourse of the Upper Room. The Old Testament prophecies already referred to had

^{1&}quot; Paraclete" (or "Comforter")—John's term for the Spirit,—signifies one who is summoned to the aid of another, one, e.g., who acts for the defence in a court of law. Thence it implies a helper generally.

² Luke xxiv. 49. In Luke xi. 13 "Holy Spirit" is a substitute which Luke himself has made for "good things" in the parallel passage in Matt. (vii. 11), Luke's feeling being that the "Holy Spirit" was God's best gift, the "good thing" which implicitly included all others.

³ Acts i. 4, 5, 8,

⁴ Isa. xliv. 3, Ez. xxxvi. 27, Joel ii. 28, Zech. xii. 10.

⁵ The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 126 f.

⁶ John xiv. 16, 26.

predicted the widespread diffusion of the Spirit as one of the peculiar blessings of the Messianic age. Naturally, therefore, as the hope of a personal Messiah to inaugurate that age attained sharper definition in pre-Christian thought, to Him came to be assigned this expected bestowal of the Spirit. Hence the Baptist contrasts with himself the mightier One coming after him by saying, "I baptized you with water: but He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit," and part of the significance which the Fourth Gospel portrays the Baptist as seeing in Christ's own baptism by the Spirit is that Jesus receives for Himself that He may communicate to others. "He that sent me to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit." 2 The noteworthy feature of all the Gospels, however, is that they regard the bestowal of the Spirit by Christ upon others as postponed until the day of Pentecost. There was, as we have seen, a sporadic activity of the Spirit in pious individuals at the season of our Lord's birth, but from the moment of the illapse upon Jesus at His baptism the very silence of the Gospels suggests that the Holy Spirit was viewed as simply operative in the world of Jesus. Indeed this is plainly the teaching of the Fourth Gospel. Not only does John comment on a saying of Jesus by adding, "This spake He of the Spirit, which they that believed on Him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified," 3 but He makes

² John i. 33.

¹ Mark 1. 8. The addition "with fire" in the parallel passage in Matt. (iii. 11) is thought by some critics to be a backward reflection of the phenomena of Pentecost. 3 John vii. 39.

Jesus say expressly of the promised Paraclete: "He abideth with you, and shall be in you." 1 The distinction of the tenses in that passage is significant, compelling the interpretation that the Holy Spirit who at that moment dwelt with the disciples, in that He was resident in their Master, was in due time to pass from an external Power present only in Christ to an inward Energy operant in all His followers. The coming of the Holy Spirit to the Church is pictured as contingent on the departure and glorification of Jesus.2 "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you; but if I go, I will send Him unto you." 3 The "other" Paraclete could not come until a vacancy, so to speak, had been created by the withdrawal of the One already present, nor until Jesus, through His death and His subsequent resurrection and ascension, had "entered into His glory," i.e., had been released from the limitations which characterised the Incarnate state, and, passing into the heavens, had assumed His royal place at the right hand of God. So closely were the glorification of Jesus and the mission of the Spirit connected together in thought from the very beginning, that the Pentecostal effusion was immediately expounded by Peter as the conclusive sign that Jesus was with the Father. "Having received of the Father," he says, "the promise of the Holy Spirit, He hath poured forth this,

¹ John xiv. 17.

8 John xvi. 7.

⁹ The apparent bestowal of the Spirit by Jesus upon His disciples in the Upper Room after His resurrection (John xx. 22) is not inconsistent with this view, if we take that story, as all the facts seem to demand that we should, as a vivid anticipation by the Evangelist of the future career of the Church as regards both the commission it had to fulfil and the power which was to be available for its discharge.

which ye see and hear." Paul, too, describing Christ's entrance into heaven under the figure of an Eastern conqueror entering his capital in triumph, followed by the long train of captives and the spoil that were the tokens of his victory, deliberately alters the words of the Psalm from which he quotes in order to bring out that an attendant feature of Christ's ascent on high was that He "gave gifts unto men." To the Church the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost was the proof that Jesus was indeed enthroned in heaven. It was because He had gone up that the Holy Spirit came down.

Such, in brief, is the view as to the advent of the Spirit which the New Testament writers consistently present to us. Pentecost is regarded as inaugurating a new era which Christian thinkers have sometimes expressly described as "the dispensation of the Spirit." God, who had initiated one stage of His redemptive work by sending forth "His Son," then inaugurated the final one by sending forth "the Spirit of His Son." Thenceforth the story which the Christian historian seeks to tell, is how the Church developed in the power, and under the guidance of, the Spirit. This sharp distinction constituting Pentecost a sort of spiritual watershed, parting all that went before from all that followed after, calls for some explanation. In what sense, we ask, was the Holy Spirit operative in the world at and after Pentecost as He was not before? To exclude Him wholly from the preceding epoch, and to speak, as Augustine does, of Pentecost as "the birthday of the Holy Spirit " is, in the light of our previous discussions,

¹ Acts ii. 33. ² Eph. iv. 8. The quotation is from Psa. lxviii. 18, where, however, the conqueror receives gifts.

manifestly impossible. Even if He had been active in the world in no one else, He had been present in Jesus. Nay further, He must even have been bestowed on the disciples during Christ's earthly ministry, for when in sending them forth on a mission, Jesus gave them "power and authority over all demons and to cure diseases," 1 what else can be meant, though the Holy Spirit is not expressly named, but that the disciples received an endowment of the same spiritual dynamic which was so manifest in their Master? When, again, at Cæsarea Philippi Jesus, in welcoming Peter's great confession, said, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven," 2 was not that revelation mediated by the Holy Spirit? Were not also the prayers and devout meditations, which immediately preceded Pentecost, "in the Spirit"? Moreover, back through all the long line of prophets and seers, in all the movement of revelation and in the formation of the Scriptures,3 in the history of Israel as a whole as well as in its great leaders and heroes, we have seen not only the Holy Spirit at work, but His presence and operation receiving some measure of explicit recognition. But had there been no such recognition the facts would remain the same. The truth is that all life is grounded in the life of God, and there can be no reality to our thought in a Divine operation upon the world which is casual and intermittent. That operation will, to the human observer, have its more arresting moments; it will at times emerge in more impressive forms or persons, but the steady pressure of the Divine upon the human will persist all

¹ Luke ix. 1. ² Matt. xvi. 17.

³ The inspiration of the O.T. is frequently asserted in the N.T. See I Peter i. II; 2 Peter i. 21.

the while. Surely the true conception of the Spirit is that expressed by the Psalmist 1 who, asking, "Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?" confesses that everywhere—in heaven, or earth, or Sheol-he would find himself face to face with God, just as also Alexandrian Judaism, broad in its outlook, taught that the Spirit "filled the world," and was to be found in the lives of all wise and good men. We are compelled to believe in the unbroken presence of the Spirit because we witness His products. The forces which create saintliness have varied in their intensity from age to age, but they have ever been the same in their nature, and have operated according to similar laws. "God's work in man has been essentially the same in all ages. The faith of Abraham, the penitence of David, the brave endurance of Jeremiah, the inspiration of Isaiah, were wrought by the same Spirit that dwelt in Paul and John, and gave gifts of love and wisdom to the Early Church, and is still working conviction and renewal in the world." Pentecost marked no new departure in the Divine method of regenerating men. The power may have been increased, but the agency remained unchanged. The good man is always "God's workmanship" through the Spirit. For these reasons the visitation at Pentecost can only in an accommodated sense be spoken of as "the coming" of the Spirit. He was no stranger in the world to which He "came." Pentecost was not His "birthday," but the day of His majority. It saw the manifestation, on a scale, and in a fashion, previously unexampled, of a spiritual force which had never been absent from the world, and never been passive in the hearts of men.

¹ Psa. cxxxix. 7-10.

² W. N. Clarke, Oulline of Christian Theology, p. 375.

It is along this line that we must resolve the inconsistency which the normal view of Pentecost involves. That day witnessed not "the coming" of the Spirit, but the more impressive manifestation of One who had already come. We often fail to distinguish between a fact and our perception of it. Our discovery of a fact and its coming into existence are often far from simultaneous. A fact exists prior to its apprehension, and it may exist whether we apprehend it or not. Psychology speaks of sensations that lie below "the threshold" of consciousness, and it tells how by training the senses that "threshold" can be lowered, and sensations previously unnoticed be perceived. The analogy holds good also of spiritual perception. At Pentecost the Holy Spirit exhibited Himself in such phenomena and with such potency as to rise above what was then "the threshold" of spiritual consciousness, and to emerge in His acknowledged character in the thought of the Early Church. From the human and intellectual side the achievement of that day was one of recognition. The qualifying phrases just used suggest how this was brought to pass. It was effected, in part, by the seemingly audible and visible phenomena and the external manifestations generally which attended this new reception of the Holy Spirit. For it is one of the defects which, as a legacy from the Old Testament, long attached to the doctrine of the Spirit in the primitive Church 1 that

¹ The corrective was supplied by the Apostle Paul. See p. 196 ff. Knowling (Expos. Greek Test., note on Acts viii. 15), in citing I Cor. xii. 30 as making "it plain that the advent of the Holy Spirit was not of necessity attested by any peculiar manifestations, nor were these manifestations essential accompaniments of it," misinterprets the passage. For the series of questions, "Are all apostles? Do all speak with tongues?" etc., implies, not that there were some Christians without any "gift" at all, but that no one "gift" belonged to all Christians. The emphasis is on the word "all."

Christians seemed unable to realise His presence save through some arresting appeal to the senses, e.g., through glossolaly, exalted prophetic utterance, or ecstatic elevation of spirit. So to the disciples, gathered together with perfect oneness of heart in the grey light of the morning 1 of Pentecost, there came suddenly from heaven, probably as they were engaged in their morning devotions and pleading for, among other things, the bestowal of the promised Spirit, "a loud sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house 2 where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it" (i.e., the fire) "sat upon each one of them." Luke's words are evidently carefully chosen, and they point to impressions of sound and vision apparently appealing to the physical senses, but in fact having reality simply to the alert spiritual perceptions of the assembled disciples.4 But we can believe that there they had absolute reality. Surely it is not for us to limit the ways of God, as those do who dismiss this phase of Pentecost as unhistorical or an illusion! If there are certain convictions vitally significant which God is eager to implant in the mind of man, are we to believe that He, in conveying them, takes no account of, and so makes no concession to, man's dim powers of apprehension? Nay, the entire history of revelation belies that view. What was the very Incarnation itself but a concession to our

¹ The phrase "When the day of Pentecost was being fulfilled" (Acts ii. 2) leaves the exact time somewhat undetermined.

² As to the discussion whether the meeting-place was the Upper Room, or some portion of the Temple, my own judgment inclines to the former view. But for the latter conclusion see Chase, The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles, p. 30 ff.

Acts ii. 2, 3.
The repeated "as" points to this, and the word "appeared"

⁽ὥφθησαν) points to a vision.

dulness, a translation of the Divine Word into a language we could understand?

"And so the Word had breath, and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds
In loveliness of perfect deeds,
More strong than all poetic thought."

The time may come when we shall reserve a special pity for the man who will believe only in what lies within the range of his normal senses. Pentecost is not an isolated instance of a spiritual idea mediating itself through what seems to be a sense-perception. Elisha's vision of the mountain filled with the horses and chariots of God, or, should that be dismissed as legendary, Isaiah's vision of the Almighty exalted on His throne in the heavenly temple with the seraphim veiling their faces and chanting the praises of the Divine holiness, the descending dove and the seemingly audible voice when Jesus was baptized, the appearance of the Risen Jesus to Paul on the way to Damascus—these are experiences which, though taken from the Bible, are,

1 "The whole drift of my education goes to persuade me that the world of our present consciousness is only one out of many worlds of consciousness that exist, and that those other worlds must contain experiences which have a meaning for our life also; and that although in the main their experiences and those of this world keep discrete, yet the two become continuous at certain points, and higher energies filter in. By being faithful in my poor measure to this over-belief, I seem to keep myself more sane and true. I can, of course, put myself into the sectarian scientist's attitude, and imagine vividly that the world of sensations and of scientific laws and objects may be all. But whenever I do this, I hear that inward monitor of which W. K. Clifford once wrote, whispering the word 'bosh!' Humbug is humbug, even though it bear the scientific name, and the total expression of human experience, as I view it objectively, invincibly urges me beyond the narrow 'scientific' bounds." (James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 619).

nevertheless, credible, because there have been frequent parallels to them in Christian experience. Many saintly souls have had what Prof. James calls "photisms." Constantine's vision of the cross in the sky, Augustine's impression of a voice behind him, saying, "Tolle, lege," Joan of Arc's "voices," the "openings" of George Fox, are but a few of them. The literature of religious experience is full of them. As Prof. James says: "The whole army of Christian saints and heresiarchs, including the greatest, the Bernards, the Loyolas, the Luthers, the Foxes, the Wesleys, had their visions, voices, rapt conditions, guiding impressions, and 'openings.' They had these things because they had exalted sensibility, and to such things persons of exalted sensibility are liable. In such liability there lie, however, consequences for theology. Beliefs are strengthened wherever automatisms corroborate them. Incursions from beyond the transmarginal region have a peculiar power to increase conviction. The inchoate sense of presence is infinitely stronger than conception, but, strong as it may be, it is seldom equal to the evidence of hallucination. Saints who actually see or hear their Saviour reach the acme of assurance." 1

Of course, this does not involve that we believe everyone who reports that he has had a vision. That mode of Divine communication is, as we have urged, a concession to the weakness of human understanding. Hence we must feel that the conviction to be conveyed is of such paramount importance that God, to avoid any risk of its non-reception, is justified in resorting to an unusual process in its communication.

¹ James, The Varieties of Religious Experiences, p. 478. The word "hallucination," as Prof. James uses it there, must not be taken as implying unreality.

The rule laid down by Horace is a sound one:-

"Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit." ¹

The conviction thus abnormally produced must also confirm the alleged Divineness of its origin by the healthiness and moral value of its products. To quote Prof. James once again, "No appearances whatever are infallible proofs of grace." "By their fruits ye shall know them, not by their roots." Now the Pentecostal experience can successfully confront both of the tests suggested. We hold to the view, therefore, that the seeming phenomena of the rushing wind and the fiery tongues, though a vision,2 were not visionary. They were subjective in the sense that an unspiritual bystander would have had no perception of them, but in so far as the ideas which they suggested needed to assume some symbolic form in order that they and their full significance might be grasped, the very symbolism had objective reality to the spiritual, as distinct from the physical, senses. We may believe that, in ways which are an imitation on the supersensible plane of the modes of ordinary perception, important spiritual truths have under special conditions been made known to the mind of man, and that intense religious experiences, like the sublime music of which Milton sang, may have the power to bear the soul beyond the normal frontiers of sense, and to

"Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all heaven before my eyes."

² I have taken the liberty of using the term "vision" here to denote any form of sense-perception.

^{1 &}quot;Nor let a god be brought in" (i.e., into a drama) "unless a difficulty has arisen deserving a god to solve it."

Proceeding on this view we may urge that the apparent sense-perceptions of the day of Pentecost were eminently fitted to suggest the truths needing to be conveyed. The seeming rush of a mighty wind from heaven —what could that suggest to the disciples but the Divine ruah they were expecting, the wind of God's Spirit blowing from above upon them? The glowing tongues so distributed that one seemed to rest upon each disciple -what did they point to if not to the power equipping all to give enthusiastic witness to their Lord? We may be quite sure, too, that the disciples found these interpretations confirmed by the swift exaltation of feeling, the tide of new power which seemed simultaneously to rise within them. For, after all, the apparent wind and flame were only meant to be the assurance of an inner equipment which was, in the last resort, its own guarantee. The outward symbols only suggested meanings; the reality consisted in the intensification of the inner life of the disciples, who felt as though, in some mysterious way, a new power had been infused into them. And there we come to the second feature which, by sharply differentiating that event from all the previous experience of the disciples, made them, and so subsequently the Church, view Pentecost as marking "the coming" of the Spirit, their reception of something of which they had previously possessed nothing. We, of course, know Pentecost to have been in reality the disciples' conscious reception of a Power, which had always been in the world, and had been operative even within themselves, though in ways too quiet, normal, and undramatic for them to have learnt yet to recognise the Spirit therein. This sudden intensification of its activity, utterly transcending all previous experience, and their first recognition of it were simultaneous. We

can understand how with the disciples, trained through the Old Testament to see the Holy Spirit almost exclusively in the dramatic and abnormal, their first recognition of the Spirit in His operation within themselves was contemporary with this intensification of His presence, and how for long after Pentecost it was only in some profound stirring of the soul, followed, as then, by unusual manifestations, that they saw evidence that believers had received the Holy Spirit. We always have to consider the atmosphere in which an idea is born. In this instance we are investigating a period when a true doctrine of the Spirit and of the nature of His working was only in process of construction. What wonder if first conclusions were defective, because the premises were incomplete! What wonder if the Church at first could only recognise the Spirit in wind and earthquake and fire, and not in "a sound of gentle stillness!" We, however, made wiser by time and by the teaching of the Spirit Himself, can see that Pentecost meant to the Church and the world, not the entrance of a new Power, but the intensification to such a surpassing and dramatic degree of a Power which had been always at work, that men imagined that a new Potency had emerged in experience and a new era begun.1

¹ Dr. Swete (The Holy Spirit in the N.T., p. 375 f.) finds a parallel to the Holy Spirit being regarded as coming into the world at Pentecost, though He had been present in it before, in the Word who, though not sent into the world until "the fulness of time," was in it from the first. But there the difference is constituted by the Word becoming visible, whereas with the Spirit the change is not in visibility, but in man's sense of His potency. The analogy, therefore, is imperfect. Dr. Gore (Lux Mundi, 15th Ed., p. 243) argues that under the old covenant men received "gifts" from the Spirit, whereas now they receive the Spirit Himself. But this distinction cannot be maintained. The Spirit and His gifts, e.g., prophetic inspiration, are too closely knit together to be detached save in thought. The "gifts"

It is no real contradiction of the view thus propounded that the words of Jesus seem to forecast a definitely new experience. "The Paraclete when He is come"; "I send upon you the promise of the Father"; "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days hence "-these and similar sayings, it may be urged, point to an entirely new experience; and with that view the suddenness of the Pentecostal visitation appears congruous. But when Jesus speaks of the Holy Spirit as being "sent" or as "coming," let us not be entangled in such an utter bondage to the letter as to take these phrases simply in a barren literalness. Surely it is the prerogative of any teacher to express an idea in that form which will be most intelligible to his hearers. The form may not be philosophically correct, but what of that? Terminology which had that virtue would for most minds possess no other. Whatever may be our view as to Jesus Himself, His disciples admittedly knew nothing of the subtleties of modern psychology. They were not philosophers, nor did Christ treat them as such. Accustomed, as they were, to think of any spiritual experience in terms more of its final source than of their reception of it, Jesus suited His terminology to their mental limitations. Looking at the matter from the objective side we may say that God, strictly speaking, has nothing to give to us, for already He has given us everything. In nature the sum total of matter and force is constant; they exhibit no new potency which was not theirs long ago. Even the Gospel from the Divine point of view is no novelty—it is that which has been from the beginning; the very Cross existed before

are the sign of His presence and operation. In what way, one would ask Dr. Gore, so far as the *modus operandi* of the Spirit was concerned, did the inspiration of Jeremiah differ from that of Paul?

times eternal. The progressive changes have been in reality subjective ones; they have been our discovery and appropriation of what has existed for us all the while in nature and grace. It is not so much that God has given as that we have come to see and receive what God had already bestowed. It is quite true that popular speech, inasmuch as it makes no pretence to scientific exactness, speaks of the gift by God and the discovery by man as if they were coincident and contemporary, just as in the old Greek legend the invention of fire was pictured as something brought by Prometheus from the gods. And such a poetic use of language is natural and excusable. We need to be concerned less for mere words, and more for the facts of which they are often a very inadequate expression. So when the Spirit is spoken of as "coming" and being "sent," let us not so interpret those terms as to imagine Him a new visitor to our world. Coming! When had He not come? Surely He has ever been about us as the light-about us, but alas! only dimly and feebly within us, because of the poverty of the window. What Pentecost witnessed was a marvellous change in the window; not more light given, but more light let in. The experience of that day was constituted not so much by a Divine down-sending as by a human in-letting. Man opened more fully the gateway of his being, and through that wider entrance the air of that spiritual world which is only just without us, rushed in and filled the soul of man as it never had or could before.

The Pentecostal experience must be explained, therefore, on its subjective side. But how, it may be asked, are we, on that view, to account for the suddenness of it? Surely if there was no sudden letting loose of that spiritual dynamic by God, but only an appropriation

of it by the Church, what we might have expected would be a growing sense of the Spirit's presence in the disciples during all the days of their waiting, instead of His apparently sudden and dramatic emergence into their consciousness on the morning of the tenth day. How is that difficulty to be met? Partly by recalling what has already been said about "the threshold" of consciousness. There are sub-conscious experiences which belong constantly to our mental state, but are not pronounced enough to secure our active attention; we are not aware of them. But let such an experience gradually increase in intensity, and the result will be that, when it has reached a certain stage, we shall suddenly waken up to it, and it will emerge in consciousness. So was it with the disciples during those days of waiting. Surely the Holy Spirit was with them then! Their prayers and praises, their quiet communion with one another, the wonderful unity of heart into which they were brought-were not these things the fruit of the Spirit? Had He nothing to do with directing the choice of an apostle to take the place which had been vacated by Judas? Yes, He was there, but it was only on the tenth day that the process of in-letting reached its climax, and "they were all filled with the Holy Spirit," and in that moment of fulness first became conscious that He had come.1 It may be that the tenth day brought with it a quickening of expectation, for it has been pointed out that, if Pentecost was regarded

¹ I do not stay to discuss the view put forward in Ency. Bibl., col. 3118, that the whole story of the founding of the Church at Pentecost is an invented narrative, the growth of the Church, so it is said, probably being gradual and the scene Galilee. To me a consideration of all the circumstances makes and dramatic and impressive inauguration such as the Acts describes, much more probable.

by the disciples as the traditional anniversary of the giving of the Law, and so of the birth of Judaism,¹ they may have cherished an expectation reaching almost to certainty that on the day of Pentecost God would also, by the gift of the Spirit, constitute the new Israel and send it forth on its career of witness. Thus a mood may have been induced in which the expected could also become the actual.

We can the more easily believe that—and herein lies a second answer to the difficulty now under discussion—if we remember that, while a process is often tame and unarresting, the climax is frequently sudden, vivid, dramatic. The flash of lightning which suddenly cleaves the murky sky, followed by the roll of the thunder, is a dramatic announcement of the electric battalions which day after day nature has been quietly mustering yonder in the upper air, until now, her forces being complete, she lets them loose in that war of the elements. So, too, every great discovery has been but the culmination of a long process. The thinker has been at work labouring in many fields, comparing, analysing, reflecting, patiently amassing a host of facts. And yet he seems in no wise advantaged, for the facts so gained are disconnected, and appear to have no relation to each other. But one day there comes into the mind of that thinker a new fact-apparently but one extra to those acquired already-but suddenly, as by some miracle, those pre-existent facts group themselves round the newcomer, they melt together into a unity, they reveal in a flash their relation to it and to each other, and in that moment-akin to the Pentecostal

¹ There is some doubt, however, as to whether this view of Pentecost can be traced to the 1st century of our era, though it existed very shortly after.

experience in that we sometimes speak of that final idea as "an inspiration"—a new theory, such as evolution, swims into ken, and the man rises up and says exultantly, "I have found it, I have found it." Yet that new fact was not the discovery, but only the climax of it; it accomplished what it did just because it was a climax. But too often in our poor human speech we set it on high and apart as if it were the whole. Yet was it but the culmination, and it is only by an imperfect analysis that we give to that crowning moment the credit of the entire process. The bearing of these analogies upon the experience of Pentecost will be sufficiently obvious.

There are considerations which make quite natural also the immense access of power to the disciples which was associated with that visitation. Where man is concerned, the Holy Spirit, whilst disdaining no avenue, travels to the heart by way specially of the thoughts. From the human side thought is the ultimate and originative element in religious experience. It is the parent of emotion, for we love God just in proportion as we know how lovable He is. More moving thoughts induce higher emotions, and the joint pressure of thought and feeling tends to break down the barrier of the will, causing idea to issue in act. The doorway by which

the Spirit of God enters a man is his thought.

"The Spirit breathes upon the word, And brings the truth to sight."

Hence our Lord in speaking of His mystic indwelling in His disciples, says, "Abide in Me, and I in you," and then, with no sense of incongruity, puts the same truth in another form by saying, "If ye abide in Me,

and My words abide in you," etc. To have the "truth" was to have the Spirit who made that truth His vehicle. In no arbitrary and mechanical way, therefore, does the Holy Spirit influence men, but in harmony with the laws of their mental and spiritual life. That being so, the effects of His ministry will be determined in part by the quality of the thought that is His tool. Even He cannot be expected to produce the finest results with an imperfect instrument. Now there was more edge, so to speak, in the Gospel than in Law or Prophecy; it had things to say which cut more deeply. The Gospel presented an appeal that was infinitely moving. it spoke with transcendent power to the needs and hopes of men. For when the Spirit was able to use not simply the revelation of God and man which Jesus had spoken, but also the revelation that He had Himself been, and notably the climax of it in His death, resurrection, and ascension, it was no wonder that, taking thus of "the things of Christ," the Holy Spirit began to energise in the world as never before, so that men felt as though the gates of a new era had swung open before them, and fresh possibilities of service and character had been laid at their feet.

The age in which we live has been signally marked by the growing mastery which man has asserted over the forces of nature. He has made light draw his pictures, electricity convey his messages, and steam serve as his beast of burden. These forces have not been created by man; they have been implicit in nature from the beginning, and man has simply discovered and appropriated them. If nature does more for us than it did for primeval man, it is simply because we know more of what it contains than he did, and have

learnt how to bring ourselves into such relations with its energies as to make them our slaves. So is it with the Spirit of God. Pentecost did not witness His first coming to us, but rather His advent in the plentitude of His power. The changed conditions effected by the message and work of Jesus rendered possible a large advance in the vitalising of religious life. The same sun shines over the Arctic zone as that which illuminates the Tropics, but how different the cheerless sterility of the one region from the luxuriant beauty of the other! If, however, we could but conceive of the earth being swung round so that the Arctic zone became related to the sun as the Tropics now are, the frost and barrenness would, under the more generous visitation of light and heat, give place to abounding fertility and beauty. So over the Old Testament dispensation there shone the same spiritual Sun that is ours in this later age, but His rays reached men with a feebler energy because of their ignorance. But at Pentecost the world swung into a more tropical region, making it possible for men to receive increased heat and light. The result has been that the race has reached forth to higher attainments of character and devoted itself to new forms of service. "Pentecost," says Dr. Denney, "was won for us at Calvary." Yes, that saying is true if we so far qualify it as to see that the whole work of Christ consummated in His death and risen life produced conditions, availing Himself of which the Spirit was able to inaugurate an era marked by new and startling manifestations of His presence and power.

CHAPTER VII

The Spirit in the Apostolic Church

THE historian of "The Acts of the Apostles" himself supplies us with a true starting-point for estimating the work of the Spirit in the primitive Church. Through the lips of Jesus he tells us that in nature the Spirit was "power," and in function was to enable the first disciples to bear witness to their Lord over an ever widening area until, beginning from Jerusalem, the Gospel had reached the uttermost parts of the then known earth.1 The "Acts" is the story of the extent to which, in the power of Pentecost, that programme was carried out in the Apostolic age. Quite naturally, therefore, does Luke, in shaping his narrative, give such prominence to the part played by the Holy Spirit that "Acts" has been called "The Gospel of the Spirit." As natural also is his virtual silence as to the relation of the Spirit to the religious life of the individual. Luke's interest is in the corporate and progressive witness of the Apostolic Church to Christ; with individuals as recipients of the Spirit he is concerned simply in so far as, by their adhesion to the Church or by their powers of testimony, they represent moments in that advance. The motive controlling Luke's selection and arrangement of his material is that he may exhibit the growth of the Christian organism through the activity of the indwelling Spirit.

The stages are well defined, and, as each is reached, the story brings out clearly the intervention of the Holy Spirit. He came in wonderful power at the initiation of the movement. Pentecost represented the equipment of the primitive Church for its testimony. The fiery tongues were the symbol of the prophetic task to which all in their measure, women as well as men, were called, for the law of that first Christian community was that to be a disciple was to be also a witness. Quite fittingly, therefore, did Peter interpret the outpouring of the Spirit as an equipment for a prophetic-a witnessbearing-function, and so see in it a fulfilment of Joel's prophecy, "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." 1 Insight into truth and intense power in proclaiming it are the two gifts there promised, and Peter's first sermon exhibits the reality of their reception by the Early Church. Nevertheless, progress is by stages. We quite misread the early chapters of "Acts" if we imagine that, at the first, Peter and his fellow-apostles viewed Christ and the programme of the Church exactly as we do. They, to begin with, contemplated simply the formation of a Jewish community, for though Peter takes up Joel's prophecy about "all flesh" becoming the recipients of the Spirit, what that phrase meant to Peter, as to Joel, was merely the universal diffusion of the Spirit within the limits of Israel. Moreover, the new community was founded on a Messianic base. To those first Jewish Christians the central significance of Jesus was that He was their nation's Messiah. His death

¹ Joel ii. 28. This outpouring of the Spirit is regarded by Joel as preceding and preparing for "the Day of Yahweh." To this Peter's conception is precisely analogous.

had meant His rejection by His own people and so constituted a sin of which they had need to repent. But the Cross had been followed by His resurrection and exaltation to the presence of God-the Pentecostal outpouring was the proof that this had come to pass. From the unseen He was soon to return, still as Messiah, to put Himself visibly at the head of the new Israel, and to establish in its final glory the rule of God. Till the hour of that great re-construction arrived, "the heaven must receive "Him,1 but when He returned, introducing that day of crisis of which the prophets had spoken as "the day of Yahweh," He would gather round Him the true Israel constituted by faith in His Messianic claims and loyalty to His person, and from that elect community, in the sifting of the attendant judgment, all unbelievers would be rooted out.2 The present, therefore, was simply an interval between Christ's departure and His return, an era of preparation to be marked, as Joel had predicted, by the bestowal of the Spirit, or, as Peter himself describes it, by "seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord," 3 these being conditioned by faith in the Messiahship of Jesus.

Such was the Church as it was first constituted. It bore an indubitably Jewish stamp; its concepts moved in a Jewish world; all its terms had a Messianic flavour. "The salvation" of which Peter sometimes speaks

¹ Acts iii. 21. Cp. also v. 20.

² Acts iii. 23. This is the point also of Peter's exhortation (Acts ii. 40), "Save yourselves from this crooked generation," *i.e.*, separate yourselves from it, and form yourselves into a distinct community.

³ Acts iii. 19. By "seasons of refreshing," or re-creation Peter meant the Messianic renewal of Israel's life. Our Lord's phrase, "the regeneration" (Matt. xix. 28), is exactly akin. Cp. Acts i. 6.

The phrase in Acts iv. 12 has the definite article, and bears a special meaning, viz., that Messianic deliverance from all its evils

is future, and means really a participation in the coming glory of the Messianic age. The eyes of the Church were directed not so much to the past as to the future—to the return of Jesus. And so the Apostles were slow to move out from Jerusalem, but seemed disposed at first to make that the sole field of their operations. After all, this was natural if the King was soon coming back to His own, for where else would He expect to find them but at the Jerusalem which was to be His capital? Hence persecution had to scatter those who would not disperse of themselves. But the dispersed witnesses took with them no changed message. If Philip preaches to Samaritans or to an Ethiopian proselyte, his theme is that Jesus is the Messiah. All that we see, therefore, in this wider evangelism is that the Messianic community enlarges its bounds, and is made significantly to embrace full proselytes, or persons like the Samaritans who, since they accepted the Mosaic Law and were expecting the Messiah,2 could be regarded as within the pale of Judiasm, though lying, as the stricter Jews thought, dangerously near to its frontiers. In this widening of the Christian community the hand of the Spirit is traced. By falling on Samaritan converts 3 He, in the eyes of the leaders of the Church, endorses their admission into it. He it is, again, at whose mysterious impulse Philip enters into conversation with the Ethiopian proselyte,4 and leads him to believe. In the acceptance of the Gentile Cornelius—a grave step as evidenced by the controversy which it awakened

for which Judaism was looking. Similarly, Jesus is spoken of as "the pioneer Leader into 'the Life'" (Acts iii. 15)-another technical Messianic term. He is also identified with the "Servant" of Isaiah's prophecy, and the "Prophet" predicted by Moses.

¹ Acts viii. 5.

² John iv. 25.

⁸ Acts viii. 15-17.

⁴ Acts viii. 29.

at Jerusalem-there was another widening of the frontiers, for in that instance a proselyte of the "Godfearing" type,1 and so a man merely on the fringe of Judaism, was declared entitled to direct admission into the Church without having, as the narrower minds in it were inclined to demand, to become by circumcision and other observances a full proselyte to Judaism as a preliminary to entrance into the Christian community. Here again the Holy Spirit was the determining factor in the decision. Not only was it under the special direction of the Spirit that Peter went to Cæsarea at all,2 but the manifest reception of the Holy Spirit by Cornelius and others, even while the Apostle was preaching, was an end of controversy. "If God." said Peter to his critics, "gave unto them the like gift as He did also unto us, when we believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I could withstand God?" 3 Very significantly does the historian add concerning the critics that, "when they heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified God."

The next stage is still more interesting, for it is concerned with the founding of the church at Antioch, which was destined to be the metropolis of Gentile Christianity, even as Jerusalem was of Jewish. The witnesses scattered by the persecution ensuing on the death of Stephen dispersed in some instances as far north as Phœnicia and Cyprus, taking with them their testimony. At first they offered it solely to Jews, but at

¹ The phrase, "one that feared God" (Acts x. 2), is generally admitted to be a technical term describing a Gentile who worshipped the God of the Jews and broadly conformed to the Divine will, without actually becoming a proselyte through the acceptance of circumcision. To such men the term "proselyte" can only be applied in a popular sense. They were merely adherents of the Synagogue.

² See the story in Acts x. 9-22.

³ Acts xi. 17. Cp. xv. 8.

Antioch some of the bolder spirits, greatly daring, "spake unto the Greeks 1 also, preaching the Lord Jesus." 2 Luke adds significantly that "the hand of the Lord," 3 i.e., the manifest operation of God, "was with them." When this irregular evangelism reached the ears of the mother-church, a commissioner was sent down to inquire into it. Happily the man sent was Barnabas, himself a Hellenistic Tew, but with that qualification for this investigation enhanced by the fact that "he was a good man and full of the Holy Spirit and faith." 4 Possessing this spiritual credential in such measure himself he was able to recognise and appreciate its presence in the work of others. Through him the Spirit endorsed the formation of a church, mixed, though predominantly Gentile, in its composition, and founded on the basis of the Lordship of Jesus. Slowly and almost unconsciously the Church, through the Spirit operative within her, was being led to see wider horizons and grasp larger ideas. And when, in the next stage of development, the Church moved out from its latest base to the capture of the heathen world for Christ, it was the voice of the Spirit which, finding utterance through some inspired prophet in the church at Antioch, gathered, so it would

Acts xi. 20. The MSS. are divided between "Greeks," i.e., Gentiles, and "Grecians," i.e., Greek-speaking Jews, but the whole context demands the former reading. The latter is pointless in this connexion.

² I.e., making the Lordship of Jesus their theme. The emergence of "Lord" at this point as a change from "Christ" or Messiah, is significant. See Acts xi. 20, 21, 23.

³ See note, p. 105.

⁴ Acts xi. 24. The reference to Barnabas being "full of the Holy Spirit " will, in harmony with the stage of reflection then reached, have in view not the piety of Barnabas so much as the spiritual elevation and power which characterised his preaching. See M'Giffert. History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age, p. 72 f.

seem, for a special season of meditation and prayer,1 said: "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." Thus began the great missionary career of the Apostle Paul. As we read the story of it in the Acts, we notice that it bears the mark of Divine control throughout. "Being sent forth by the Holy Spirit " Paul and Barnabas set forth on their first journey. The initial breach with the Jewish synagogue and, in consequence, the first direct offer of the Gospel to the heathen are made under what Paul felt to be a command of God mediated to him through a passage of ancient prophecy.3 The controversy at Jerusalem as to the conditions on which converts from heathendom were to be admitted into the Church, was settled on terms which, as James phrased it, "seemed good to the Holy Spirit and us." 4 The movement from Asia Minor into Europe was preceded by a vision as the result of which, says Luke, "straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us for to preach the Gospel unto them." 5 Paul's long stay at Corinth, so fruitful just because it was so prolonged, was the outcome of a Divine message conveved through a vision.6 And in Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, which proved to be God's roundabout way of enabling him to give at Rome the testimony he so much desired, amid all the Apostle's premonitions of coming trouble there was the sense of a Divine pressure upon him that would not be denied. "I go bound,"

¹ This appears to be the special meaning conveyed by the phrase "As they ministered to the Lord and fasted" (Acts xiii. 2).

² Acts xiii. 4.

³ Acts xiii. 47.

⁴ Acts xv. 28.

⁵ Acts xvi. 10.

⁶ Acts xviii. 9, 10. Apart from Antioch, Corinth was the first city in which Paul is reported to have made a lengthy stay.

he said, "in the Spirit unto Jerusalem." 1 Paul was the Lord's prisoner before he became Cæsar's. And so the picture which the historian of Apostolic Christianity is at pains to give us is that of the Church enlarging not simply its bounds but its ideas, reaching out to wider horizons because it was realising also its own meaning for the world, passing out of the contracted atmosphere of Jewish Messianism into the spiritual and universalall under the guidance of the indwelling Spirit. It is because Luke so tells the fascinating story as to make us see it from this point of view, that "Acts" is justly called "The Gospel of the Spirit."

We need, however, to notice in more detail how this general guidance of the Church in its development was given. It was plainly an accepted canon of judgment that any new departure or policy was right which either was initiated by the Spirit, or was subsequently endorsed by Him.2 Now the record shows that the inception of a forward movement was often the act of individuals, and they were not always the recognised leaders of the Church, but members of its rank and file. Philip evangelises Samaritans and baptizes the Ethiopian; Peter receives Cornelius into the Church; unknown evangelists initiate the great work at Antioch, where also some prophetic soul later was inspired to dream of an assault upon paganism; Paul stamped its peculiar features on the Gentile mission. In all these cases the Church finally gave its official approval to what had been done, but the fact, nevertheless, remains that the Church, viewed collectively, did not lead, but was led by prophetic spirits, the men of the

¹ Acts xx. 22.

² Or was both initiated and endorsed by the Spirit, as in the case of Peter's visit to Cornelius.

hill-top, within it. Inspired movements always have their pioneers even within the Christian community, and for an individual Christian to be in advance of the main body of opinion in the Church may, the Acts itself being our witness, only be the more conclusive evidence that the innovator in thought or policy is in immediate contact with the Spirit of God. That fact of spiritual operation is a stone on which some modern applications of the dogma of Church authority are broken in pieces. The test which the Apostolic Church applied to a new departure was experimental and practical. It reasonably argued that that which claimed to have its initiative in the mind of the Spirit must bear His attestation in its fruits. Hence the Church looked for "signs following." And here our quarrel is not with the principle-it is too valid to be disputed-but with the imperfect way in which it was applied. What those early Christians regarded as the first coming of the Spirit had been marked by dramatic accessories, by ecstatic emotion and abnormal phenomena of utterance. The result was that their thought of the Spirit's presence was so bound up with these unusual manifestations that they could not realise that He was present when they were absent. The only realm in which they could recognise the Spirit was a sort of wonderland. Their conception of His operation was restricted to the spectacular and the dramatic. Hence when Philip went down to Samaria, and preaching Christ, induced many of his hearers to believe and accept Christian baptism, though we can see in such a change the surest proof of the operation of the Spirit, the Early Church felt that as yet the Holy Spirit had fallen upon none of the Samaritan converts.1 because there had been no abnormal

psychical manifestations. It was when Peter and John went down and laid their hands on them that these converts one after another "received the Holy Spirit," i.e., exhibited exalted emotions or gifts of utterance. Obvoiusly the reception had a visible and spectacular side, for it was when Simon Magus "saw . . . that the Holy Spirit was given," that he sought to purchase the power to bestow it himself. Similarly the Holy Spirit is frequently described as "falling on" individuals, the term suggesting swift and dramatic descent. On one occasion the visitation—a repetition, according to Luke's account, of that of Pentecostseemed to be attended by an earthquake which shook the house in which the disciples were met together.3 Still later Paul justified his mission to the Gentiles by rehearsing the "signs and wonders" which God had wrought among them.4 To Peter and his companions the evidence that the Holy Spirit had fallen on Cornelius and others was that "they heard them speak with tongues and magnify God." What we see, therefore, is that the external phenomena which attended the Pentecostal visitation became the norm to which all subsequent visitations were expected to correspond, and, in their absence, it was held that there had been no visitation at all. Chrysostom says of the Samaritan converts prior to Peter's visit that "they had received the Spirit of forgiveness, but not yet the Spirit of signs";

¹ Acts viii. 18. Two words are found in the MSS, for "saw" in this passage, and one of the words has the very distinct meaning of "to gaze as at a spectacle." Moreover, Simon would never have wanted to buy the power to confer something which was quiet in its working and undramatic in its effects.

² The verb used (ἐπιπίπτω) has the connotation suggested in the LXX. as well as in Luke's writings.

³ Acts. iv 31. ⁴ Acts xv. 12. ⁵ Acts x. 46.

but this distinction imports a later view into the primitive doctrine of the Spirit. In that early conception which we are now considering the Spirit was regarded as the characteristic Christian gift, necessary, so to speak, to supplement baptism and make it complete, and was so associated in thought with the beginning of a Christian life that conversion could be described as the time when a man "received the Spirit." But the notion as to what constituted a reception of the Spirit was far removed from ours. It was simply an experience abnormal in its nature and visible in its manifestations which came under that category in early Christian thought. The fact that men had "received the Holy Spirit even as we," 2 i.e., with the same dramatic manifestations, was to Peter the sign which, since it argued the Divine approval, justified formal admission into the fellowship of the Christian Church.3

We cannot see too plainly that this, and this only, was the primitive point of view. The first Christians associated the Holy Spirit simply with the abnormal. They recognised His operation in "speaking with tongues," ecstatic emotion finding vent in ejaculatory praise, lofty religious utterance of the nature of prophecy, visions, miracles, the mysterious removal of a man (e.g., Philip), from one place to another—in a word, in the unusual and marvellous. Moreover, until Paul taught them a truer view, they saw Him nowhere else. Much as we are bound to dissent from this imperfect conception and from the erroneous ideas which

¹ Gal. iii. 2. ⁸ Acts x. 47.

⁹ Hence in N.T. thought the presence of the Holy Spirit validates Christian experience. Their reception of one and the same Spirit was the indisputable proof that every barrier between Jew and Gentile had been broken down, and that they had been admitted on equal terms into the Christian Church (Eph. ii. 18).

⁴ Acts viii. 39.

it has drawn in its train, some excuse for its defectiveness can be found if we remember two things: to begin with, the extraordinary and dramatic phenomena which attended the first recognised appearance of the Spirit in the Church set a standard to which, in minds just beginning to construct a Christian doctrine of the Spirit, all subsequent appearances were at first naturally, though mistakenly, expected to conform; and, next, that all those early Christians had been nourished on the Old Testament, where the Holy Spirit, in so far as He is recognised at all, is, as we have seen, predominantly associated with the abnormal or mysterious in physical qualities and mental activity, and is only in a negligible fashion presented as the power for the creation of religious life. Trained thus to look for the marvellous in the operation of the Spirit the first Christians recognised His presence in but a limited portion of His operations. And that error—an error by reason of defect—led to others, which alas! all because our doctrine of the Spirit has not been historical and scientific, persist in many minds until now and import strife into Christendom. It is this externality of conception which explains, e.g., how the primitive Church came to connect the reception of the Spirit with the rite of Baptism. Baptism was the rite by which a believer was formally initiated into the Christian community. How far it was uniformly practised we have no means of knowing. But even if its observance from Pentecost onwards was fairly general, we know that Paul so far regarded it of secondary importance as to restrict his personal administration of it at Corinth to simply a few of those who became Christians under his ministry. 1 As instituted Baptism was a purificatory rite, a symbol of the cleansing away

of past sin, and, for that reason, valuable, since it helped faith to grasp the spiritual reality which the rite symbolised. As its recipient passed, first, beneath the water and, then, emerged from it, he was assisted by that symbolic experience to realise how truly he had died to his past sin. He was buried, so to speak, with Christ in the grave, only to rise therefrom to share in the life of his Risen Lord.1 It was a later and less spiritual age which turned a symbolic act into one which so far in itself actually effected the work of regeneration as to be essential to it. Hence John, writing with the immediate situation in the Church before him, indicates by the very emphasis which he makes Jesus lay upon it, that, with baptism or without, it is the activity of the Spirit which is the vital factor in the creation of the regenerate state. Twice does the Evangelist represent Jesus speaking as if to be "born anew," and to be "born of the Spirit" were synonymous terms,2 the birth "of water" as a conjoined feature being simply mentioned once, as if it were but secondary.

But, dismissing that point and recognising that Baptism represents a great opportunity for the Spirit, we are bound, nevertheless, in the interests of truth, to challenge the view that it is at Baptism that the Spirit is first bestowed. That view may apparently find its sanction in the New Testament, but it is in a New Testament which is read with uncritical eyes, and with no attempt to ponder religious experience as a whole. The Holy Spirit is indeed present in the hour of overt and definite Christian decision. Yes, but it is incontrovertible that He is operative also in the process by which that decision is reached; He

¹ Hence the analogy which Paul employs in Rom. vi. 3, 4.

² John iii. 3, 5, 6, 8.

does not intervene simply to approve and ratify the decision after it has been made. Yet it must be confessed that here the New Testament analysis of Christian experience leaves something to be desired. Either the Holy Spirit is ignored in the preliminary stages of conversion, so that even Paul is content to say quite vaguely that "goodness of God" leads men to repentance,1 or, in so far as the Spirit is introduced, it is after the fashion expounded in the Fourth Gospel. There we have the sharp antithesis of the Church and the world. The Church is the select company of Christian believers who have been gathered out of "the world" and united into a common fellowship marked by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Over against the Christian society is "the world," i.e., the non-Christian and evil forces and personalities of the time conceived as a concrete organisation, hostile to God and the Church. But, as John pictures it, "the world" is unable to receive the spirit,2 and, though He acts upon it, bringing home to it great convictions concerning sin, righteousness, and judgment,3 His action, unlike His movement in the Church, is external. He acts upon the world, not within it. But this distinction arises partly from John's dualism,4 and partly from a defective psychology. All spiritual action is necessarily intimate; it takes place within a man, at that focal centre of human personality where spirit meets with spirit. The medium by which the Holy Spirit finds access to our spirit and with which He works there-frequently the preached word-may be external in the sense that it enters our consciousness

¹ Rom. ii. 4. So the "opening" of Lydia's heart is ascribed to "the Lord" (Acts xvi. 14).

³ John xvi. 8-11. ² John xiv. 17. For a discussion of this and of the conception of "the world" in the Fourth Gospel, see my St. John and Other N.T. Teachers, p. 42 f.

by way of a sense-impression from without, but the Spirit's work with it is not at the gateway of the senses, but in the secret place of our inner life. To distinguish His action there as "within" or "on" is simply meaningless in terms of space, and, even when translated ethically, the difference expressed is merely that in the one case the action of the Divine Spirit finds welcome and sympathy in the human spirit, in the other case it is more or less disliked and repelled. But, with that difference, which is not local but ethical, the Spirit's sphere is within men. Not only is He there, but He is always there, in the unsaved as well as the saved, ready to avail Himself of any opening which our passing moods or the transitions of our consciousness may provide for the enforcement of spiritual truth and the allurement of the soul towards salvation. To take any other view is to regard His action as mechanical, whereas it is necessarily vital. The Holy Spirit, therefore, is not confined to the Church, though there admittedly He finds freest scope and produces His richest fruits. But since He is universal Spirit, the activity of an omnipresent God, He is in "the world" also. Nor is He merely a Christian monopoly, for, up to the measure that their ideas make possible, He is operative in all religions which have truth in them,1 He is in all men the inspiring principle of their moral life in the form of both aspiration and achievement. What view other than this does the Christian conception of God permit? Failure, therefore, to make a complete synthesis of all religious facts, even as regards the Christian experience itself, and to see the peculiar limitations under which the Holy Spirit was first construed in the Early Church, is responsible for the subsequent hardening of the belief

¹ This will be referred to more fully later.

that the Spirit was absolutely restricted to the Christian community. Not only did Irenæus declare: "Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei," 1 a statement which is true enough when it is not made the whole truth, as it was when he further said that "a man cannot partake of the Holy Spirit who takes not refuge in the Church," and that "he who separates himself from the Church renounces the fellowship of the Holy Spirit," but an ecclesiastic like Cyprian put the top-stone on that belief by teaching that the bestowal of the Spirit was the exclusive privilege of the bishops of the Church. Well may one writer describe this conclusion, in view at once of its supposed grounds and of its actual issues, as "one of the most disastrous mistakes that has ever been made in the history of Christianity." 2

We obtain immediate release from that error if we simply re-examine the initial and faulty conception of the Spirit of which Cyprian's ecclesiastical theory was the finished product. The association of a Christian's first conception of the Spirit with his baptism was the prime link in the chain, and it was merely the external fashion in which the coming of the Spirit was construed which led to that connexion being made. It is quite true that the two experiences were not inseparably bound up together even in the Early Church. The reception of the Spirit by the one hundred and twenty disciples at Pentecost had no relation to their baptism,

1 " Where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God."

² W. L. Walker, *The Holy Spirit*, p. 147. Bishop Gore views the Church "not as the exclusive sphere of the Spirit's operations . . . but as the special and covenanted sphere of His regular and uniform operation, the place where He is pledged to dwell and to work" (Lux Mundi, 15th Ed., p. 235). In that statement, however, much turns upon whether the Church is defined as the fellowship of all holy souls, or is restricted to some particular Christian society.

whilst it preceded baptism in the case of Cornelius and his friends, and was to Peter the convincing proof that they were eligible for that initiatory rite. With the Samaritan converts, too, their conscious reception of the Spirit did not come until some time after their baptism. Yet when once we see that we are dealing with a peculiarly restricted notion of what constituted a reception of the Spirit, the same law which explains its frequent bestowal upon early Christians at the moment of their baptism, explains also the seeming departures from that rule. Psychology in its scientific interpretation of religious experience has taught us to see in "speaking with tongues," ecstatic ejaculations, profound rapture, or elevated utterance, the marks of an intensely emotional condition. The other elements of mental experience—thought and volition are necessarily present, but the predominant element in those types of consciousness is emotional. The predisposing condition without which such abnormal phenomena are impossible is a tense state of the emotions. Now such a state can be variously produced. It can arise from the vivid realisation of certain facts or ideas which create wonder or delight. For that reason spiritual visitations of the type we are discussing have been associated again and again with the preaching of the Gospel. All through the history of the Church, and not least in the annals of Methodism, the fervent proclamation of the love of God in redemption has unsealed the fountains of emotion, and has made even quiet souls glow with holy rapture until, seeming for

¹ Hence Christians are described as receiving the Spirit "by the hearing of faith" (Gal. iii. 2, 5), i.e., through such a presentation of the Gospel as produces faith. Somewhat the same thing is meant when Paul's preaching at Corinth is described as having been "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power" (I Cor. ii. 4).

the moment to be taken out of themselves, they have broken into ecstatic ejaculations of praise. The scene in the house of Cornelius has been renewed times without number. Glowing religious testimony also, or prayer, especially social prayer, for some ardently desired boon and in an atmosphere of expectation, can induce a tense emotional condition.¹

Similarly we can see that their baptism must have represented to many of the early Christian converts a focal moment in which the sense of the solemn breach they were making with their past, and of the new life to which they were openly committing themselves, would lift emotion to an unwonted height, predisposing to those very manifestations which were regarded as the sure token of the presence of the Spirit. Moreover such manifestations, if apparent in one person, would from their very nature pass as by a sort of contagion to others.2 We know, for reasons which will be named subsequently, that emotion played a large and worthy part in early Christian experience. So naturally, therefore, did abnormal phenomena appear at a Christian's baptism, because so naturally was the tense emotional condition which predisposed towards them present on such an occasion, that not only did they usually appear then,3 but it became a disconcerting situation when, as at the baptism of Philip's Samaritan converts, these phenomena were absent. We, however,

¹ These were the conditions under which the spiritual visitations of Pentecost and of Acts iv. 24-31 took place.

² Hence the picture in Acts viii. 17 (the tense of "received" in the original being the Imperfect) of the Samaritan converts receiving the Spirit one after another.

³ When once they became at all usual on such occasions, an expectation of them would be awakened which would do much to facilitate their occurrence.

looking back upon those unusual manifestations with a better understanding both of them and of the whole work of the Holy Spirit, not only do not regard them as necessary to prove that the Spirit has been received, but view them as altogether secondary to His quiet activity in the moralising of character and life. Not ecstasies, but graces are the truest fruit of the Spirit. Hence we must dissent from the view that baptism carried with it in apostolic days, or carries with it now, any necessary accession to the Spirit's presence in the soul; least of all can we admit that baptism constitutes the beginning of His indwelling. In so far as the hour of formal initiation into Christian fellowship induces any deeper seriousness of thought or earnestness of resolve, we are sure that the Spirit avails Himself of these to enlarge His hold upon us. To that extent the symbolic rite can be of inestimable value. When, however, we are told that, according to the New Testament, "the Spirit was the corporate possession of the Body of Christ, and it became the property of the individual convert when he was made a member of the Ecclesia. No man could be Christ's who had not Christ's Spirit, and no ordinary man could have Christ's Spirit but by being 'added' to the brotherhood of Christ's disciples," 1 to endorse that presentation without some endeavour to estimate critically what the early Christians understood by the reception of the Spirit, is, we urge with all respect, to be in bondage to the letter of Scripture or to a certain theory of the Church, and exhibits a failure to interpret the first Christian conceptions of the Spirit in the light at once of inherited ideas, a rational psychology, and religious experience as a whole.

¹ Swete, The Holy Spirit in the New Testament, p. 308.

CHAPTER VIII

Spiritual Gifts 1

WE have seen that the members of the Early Church, the Apostles included, were in the first instance unable to recognise the Spirit save through some visible and dramatic effects wrought through His presence. There remains now to be considered in some detail what those effects were, and how they were produced. For the facts our sources of information are not only the Acts, but also sundry references in the Pauline Epistles, and notably the long and invaluable discussion of "spiritual gifts" which we find in I Cor. xii.-xiv. There we are admitted right into the heart of a church in whose worship these singular manifestations abounded. In one passage 2 Paul gives us a list of what were regarded as "charisms" or endowments bestowed by the Spirit upon individual Christians for employment in the service of the Church. The token by which they were recognised as derived from the Spirit was that they were abnormal either in kind or in degree. Some of the "gifts" which Paul enumerates, e.g., "helps," "governments" (i.e., administrative capacity), "ministering," and even "giving," and "showing

¹ This is the translation adopted for the word χαρίσματα, (or 'charisms'') which Paul employs to describe special endowments or manifestations of the Spirit.

² I Cor. xii. 28-30. Cp. also vv. 8-11.

³ This and the two following gifts are named in another list in Rom, xii, 6-8.

mercy," were normal enough in themselves, and, like the "uncanny" shrewdness of the Jewish farmer,1 the sagacious administration of Joseph,2 or the artistic skill of Bezalel,3 can only have been viewed as "inspired" in cases where they attained unusual eminence. The outstanding charisms were "speaking with tongues," prophesying, and miracle-working. How far the lastnamed was prevalent in the Early Church it is difficult to say, though tradition reports miracles, especially the cure of persons supposed to be demonized, as persisting far on in the 2nd century. So far, however, as the New Testament records are concerned, one curious feature is that, while Paul includes miracleworking among the operations of the Spirit, the miracles reported in the Acts appear with no mention of the Spirit, or are described as being wrought in the name of Christ,4 in one instance, indeed, viz., the healing of Æneas by Peter, Jesus Himself being represented as the direct author of the cure.5 Probably, however, such miracles, in so far as thought associated them with Christ, were viewed as a continuance of Christ's own miracles, the power once in Him being afterwards mediated through the Apostles by the Spirit. In prophesying and tongue-speech (both bracketed together in Acts xix. 6) we come to phenomena connected with utterance—an activity which the New Testament regards as the peculiar domain of the Spirit. The first recognised manifestation of the Spirit-that at Pentecost-was in this sphere. As regards prophesying we know that in the Apostolic churches there were men who, by reason of their possession of this gift, played an important part in the edification of believers,

⁴ E.g., Acts iii. 6. Cp. Matt. vii. 22. ⁵ Acts ix. 34.

standing, indeed, so near to the Apostles in the quality of their service that Paul describes the Church as "being built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets." 1 The "prophet" stood for a gift rather than an office, and men of that type would be found in every local church.2 Their prophesying included prediction -we can infer this from the forecasting of future events which is ascribed to Agabus 3-but to a much greater extent it represented what we should call "inspired preaching," a phenomenon akin, therefore, to Old Testament prophecy. The themes with which it dealt would be some phase of Christian duty,4 the nature of the unseen world, or the Divine programme for the future 5—some theme or other of this nature upon which the prophet felt that he had received a "revelation." For that which distinguished the prophet from the ordinary teacher was that, while the words of both were intended to instruct their hearers, the prophet, unlike the teacher whose message was derived from study and reflection, felt that a revelation had been given to him either directly or through vision 6 by the Spirit, whose mouthpiece he was thus called to be. Moreover, prophesying differed from "speaking with tongues" in that it was always intelligible to both speaker and

¹ Eph. ii. 20.

² Women also had the gift, e.g., the daughters of Philip the Evan-⁸ Acts xi. 28, xxi. 11. gelist (Acts xxi. 9).

⁴ The words with which Paul concludes his discussion of the question of marriage (" And I think that I also have the Spirit of God "-I Cor. vii. 40) suggest that he was controverting ideas which had been put forward in the Corinthian church by "prophets" who claimed to be speaking under the inspiration of the Spirit.

In the N.T. the best instance of this on a large scale is The Book of the Revelation. The whole book is a vision-prophecy.

⁶ So it was with Peter (Acts x. 11-16) and frequently with Paul (Acts xvi. 9, xviii. 9, xxii. 17-21, xxvii. 23-25).

hearers, and the spiritual stimulation of the former involved no loss of mental control. At the same time the utterances of the prophets were not regarded as immune from criticism. The subjects with which they dealt were often speculative in character, affording play, therefore—doubtless unconsciously—for merely human fancy. Hence prophesying was not viewed with unmixed favour. Indeed one church—that at Thessalonica—seems to have been disposed to repress manifestations of the Spirit in its worship, and especially to think lightly of the utterances of "prophets." Paul, therefore, has to charge its members straitly to "quench not the Spirit," and to "despise not prophesyings," though to these precepts he adds a command to employ a wise discrimination. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good; abstain from every evil form." Similarly he laid down as one of the regulations of worship at Corinth that not more than two or three prophets were to speak in one meeting,2 and when they had done so, the rest of the church, probably by means of informal discussion, was to pass judgment on the teaching which had been given. Prophesying was thus restrained from extravagance by having to satisfy the common sense of the Christian community, which found its norm of judgment in

¹ I Thess. v. 19-22. The concluding phrase is wrongly translated "every appearance of evil." It means in reality every evil kind or species—here, of spiritual phenomena. Paul speaks also of "discernment of spirits," i.e., discrimination of spiritual phenomena, in I Cor. xii. 10. See also I Cor. xiv. 29, where a "prophecy" becomes the subject of discussion.

² I Cor. xiv. 29, 30. Apart from the limitation of the "prophets" who were to speak in a single meeting, the Apostle seems to direct that if a "prophet" has a revelation while the meeting is in progress, any other "prophet" who may be speaking at the moment must sit down and make way for him.

which Paul describes as "the analogy of the faith," i.e., the conformity of the new message with the general trend of Christian belief. Later on, the Christian Church, feeling that it had sometimes been deceived by men who had pretended to speak in the name of God, applied other tests to a professed "prophet," e.g., the absence of self-seeking, the correspondence of the prophet's practice with his teaching, his possession of "the ways of the Lord," and in this way it sifted men who, claiming the gift of prophecy, came as visitors to local churches.

Such then was New Testament prophesying. Of quite another order was glossolaly or "speaking with tongues." Our knowledge of this phenomenon is derived in the main from Paul's detailed discussion of it in I Cor. xii.-xiv. As there expounded "speaking with tongues" does not mean speech in a foreign

¹ Rom. xii. 6. In R.V. it is rendered: "according to the proportion of our faith" (Marginal rendering, "the faith," no word for "our" being in the original).

This is the meaning attached to the phrase by many early interpreters. Most modern critics reject it, holding that "faith" had not yet come to mean an objective belief, but referred merely to faith as a subjective activity. This in the main is true, though there is certainly an approach to "faith" as meaning the grasp of certain convictions in Rom. xiv. 2: "One man hath faith to eat all things," where "nath faith" is practically equivalent to "feels that it is right." The man's confidence is based on a certain view of truth. Moreover, a doctrinal test is certainly imposed on prophesying in I Cor. xii. 3; I John iv. 2.

Interesting information on these later developments is contained in *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, a Christian document variously dated about the end of the 1st century. A prophet visiting a church was not to stay more than two days, nor to have anything but hospitality. "If he ask for money, he is a false prophet." "Not every one that speaketh in Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord." "And every prophet, though he teach the truth, if he doeth not the things that he teacheth is a false prophet."

language-that idea must be at once dismissed. The simple fact that Paul, in illustrating its unintelligibility, compares glossolaly to speech in a foreign language 1 is sufficient to show that it could not have been identical in nature with that to which it is compared. Bousset, in his Commentary on I Corinthians, has revived the theory of foreign languages in a new form. On the strength of the reference to "angels" in I Cor. xiii. I, and of a description in a non-canonical work, called The Testament of Job, of the daughters of Job speaking the languages of angels, Bousset, whilst believing that foreign and earthly languages are excluded, is inclined to regard "tongues" as marvellous, heavenly languages, "kinds of tongues" on that view being various angelic dialects. But "tongues" in I Cor. xiii. I are ascribed to "men" as well as to "angels," and, moreover, if Bousset's curious theory is correct, it is difficult to see why it should be predicted concerning the languages of angels, as it certainly is concerning "tongues," that "they shall cease." When we piece together all the Apostle's allusions to "tongues," we see that in reality they were ecstatic, broken snatches of praise and prayer, a disconnected and incoherent series of fervent ejaculations. The speaker, when uttering them, was so far out of his ordinary self that his meaning was in most cases unintelligible to himself as well as to others,3 and, on the principle familiar to both Jewish and heathen thought that, the less normal and rational a phenomenon was, the more was it Divine, these incoherent utterances, due obviously to some

¹ I Cor. xiv. II. The same thing is implied in the figures of vv. 7-9.

² I Cor. xiii. 8.

³ This is the meaning of the words "my understanding is unfruitful" (I Cor. xiv. 14). *I.e.*, "my intelligence takes no conscious part in the exercise, contributes nothing to it." See also I Cor. xiv. 2.

profound disturbance of the personality, were felt to be the supreme product of inspiration, and were more highly valued than any other "gift" of the Spirit. Because of their unintelligibility the only way in which any general benefit could be derived from "tongues" was by certain men being requisitioned to "interpret" them. 1 Such men, possessing a strong spiritual sympathy, and following laws of interpretation as to whose nature we can only dimly conjecture,2 were able to discover some meaning in these ecstatic utterances. Paul knew these phenomena from within, and so is specially to be trusted as an authority on them. He who could tell of "visions and revelations of the Lord," 3 of trance-like conditions forming a basis for "prophecy" when he believed himself caught up to Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, and knew not whether he was in the body or out of it, could thank God also that he spoke in "tongues" more than any of the Corinthians.4 In Paul, therefore, we have first-hand knowledge of the most striking spiritual phenomena of the Apostolic age. These no doubt varied in their distribution. The peculiar manifestations, e.g., which were seen at Corinth, are not so much as hinted at in some Epistles directed to other churches, and even at Corinth the fact that Paul's discussion of "spiritual gifts" was in

¹ I Cor. xiv. 27. The power to "interpret" is also included among "spiritual gifts" in I Cor. xii. 10, 30. Paul lays down the rule that if no "interpreter" was present during worship, those who spoke

with "tongues" were to keep silent (I Cor. xiv. 28).

² The interpretations of the glossolalist's mood may have been derived from stray words or phrases which he uttered, from observation of his face and gestures, and from some knowledge of his general disposition or immediate experience. One writer compares the process to the interpretation which a musically sympathetic soul can give to music without words.

^{3 2} Cor. xii. I f.

⁴ I Cor. xiv. 18.

response to an inquiry coming from the Church itself, shows that there were some Christians there who not only did not share these gifts, but had doubts as to their value when exhibited by others. Nevertheless, when all reasonable deductions have been made, there remains a residuum of spiritual phenomena sufficiently imposing and widespread to mark off the experience of the Early Church from that which is normal to Christians to-day.

Before passing, however, to a general discussion of these phenomena, some note must be taken of the "speaking with other tongues" which took place on the day of Pentecost. Was the phenomenon thus described similar to the glossolaly at Corinth, or did it mean, as is commonly supposed, that the disciples, after their spiritual baptism at Pentecost, spoke in languages which were previously unknown to them, but were the familiar vernacular of many of the foreign visitors to the Feast? It may at once be stated that in certain features the Pentecostal phenomenon resembled what was subsequently seen at Corinth. Just as glossolaly there consisted of ecstatic ejaculations of praise or prayer directed to God,3 so the men filled with the Spirit at Pentecost had as the theme of their utterances "the mighty works of God." 4 The phrase,

¹ The word translated "unlearned" ($l\delta\iota\omega\tau m$) in I Cor. xiv. 23, 24 is taken by some commentators to mean "one who is not subject to such experiences," though it probably means "an outsider, a man unversed in spiritual phenomena."

³ This is the phrase used of the Pentecostal phenomenon in Acts ii. 4. Critics cp. "They shall speak with new tongues" (Mark xvi. 17). The word "new" there, however, is absent from many of the ancient Versions, and the whole passage belongs to a section which has been added to the actual Gospel of Mark.

³ I Cor. xiv. 2.

⁴ Acts ii. 11. Cp. "For they heard them speak with tongues and magnify God" (Acts x, 46).

"to speak with other tongues," by which the phenomenon of Pentecost is described, does not, when looked at by itself, necessarily mean speech in a foreign language, but speech with a changed sort of utterance. It is significant, too, that the tongue-speech exhibited in the house of Cornelius, where there is no hint that the gift consisted of speech in a foreign language, is identified by Peter with what the disciples had evinced at Pentecost, when, moreover, the impression produced upon the onlookers was, in part at any rate, that of excited, incoherent utterance, for not simply were they amazed, but some even suggested that the Apostles were intoxicated.2 This inference would seem natural with glossolaly, which was such, Paul says, that when many were simultaneously affected by it, a casual spectator coming upon the scene might easily imagine that they had gone out of their senses.3 Moreover, the theory that the "gift" exercised at Pentecost was that of speaking foreign languages has difficulties of its own. Undoubtedly some of the phrases employed by Luke in his narrative, admit of, and even demand, that meaning. The list of the different countries represented in the crowd, and the appended statement attributed to the visitors, "We do hear them speaking in our tongues the mighty works of God," following, as it does, on the explicit statement of verse 8, are pointless save on the view that speech in foreign

Acts x. 47.

Acts ii. 13. The "sweet wine" with which the disciples were thought to be filled does not mean "new" or "unfermented" wine. Strictly speaking there could be no "new" wine at Pentecost. It has been suggested that those who charged the disciples with being intoxicated were spectators on the fringe of the crowd who could only see and hear imperfectly.

³ I Cor. xiv. 23.

languages is meant. It is a waste of time to discuss whether the supposed miracle was in the speech of the disciples or in the hearing of the bystanders. It may be admitted, too, that speech in other than one's native tongue is not without parallel. Psychology adduces instances of persons who in abnormal psychical conditions such as attend delirium or religious ecstasy, when the ordinary control over the mind is relaxed, have uttered in more or less coherent forms words from other languages than their own. The investigation of such cases, however, has shown that the phenomenon was the reproduction of a language actually learnt in childhood and left unused since then, or the calling up out of the subliminal consciousness of soundimpressions which the affected persons had at various times heard, though seemingly with too little comprehension for them to become part of the recognised furniture of the mind. 1 Psychologically, therefore, there

¹ Mr. A. Wright (Some N.T. Problems, p. 292 f.) cites the case, narrated by S. T. Coleridge, of a young woman who could neither read nor write, but who, when seized with fever, talked Latin, Greek and Hebrew in pompous tones and with distinct enunciation. On investigation it was found that she had been for some years servant to a Protestant pastor who had been in the habit of walking up and down a passage adjoining the kitchen of his house and reading aloud portions of his favourite authors. Mr. Wright refers also to "the Little Prophets of the Cevennes," whose singular manifestations took place at intervals from 1688 to 1701. Children of three years old and upwards preached sermons in correct French, which they could not ordinarily use. The little "Prophets" "first swooned and appeared without any feeling, then broke out into exhortationsfervent, eloquent, correct, well-chosen, appropriate, mostly in good French." There was nothing wildly emotional about their manner; they were simply insensible to pain and could not be induced to stop. Mr. Wright explains the phenomenon as the unconscious revival of sermons which the pastors of the children had previously preached. Dr. Dawson Walker (The Gift of Tongues, p. 56 f.) cites the same instances, adding that in the Welsh Revival of 1904 young Welsh

was no exhibition of new acquisitions, but simply the emergence, through some modification of the ordinary power of control, of what was already latent in the mind, just as we can imagine the impalpable meteoric dust which, quietly filtering down through the atmosphere, is deposited on the bed of the sea, being churned up thence to the surface when a violent storm agitates the sea to its depths. Was the Pentecostal phenomenon analogous, in that the foreign languages which the disciples are supposed to have spoken for the once were simply the unconscious reproduction of memories? If so, the number of languages spoken would have to be limited to such as the disciples, in some conscious or apparently sub-conscious way, had previously had contact with. These for Galilæan peasants cannot have been numerous; indeed, in view of this difficulty, it has been pointed out 1 that the long catalogue of places which Luke cites as represented in the multitude at Pentecost, is apt to be misleading. It is a list of places, not of languages, or even dialects, for, so far as Jews in those places were concerned, their native speech would be either Greek or one of the forms of Aramaic known as Eastern or Western. Moving within the limitations thus imposed upon interpretation we should have to regard "speaking with other tongues" at Pentecost as broken and highly emotional ejaculations of praise and prayer in which there emerged words

people, normally speaking English because they knew little or no Welsh, when under the influence of the revival they took part in public prayer, sometimes used, not the familiar English, but the merely partially known Welsh, speaking it too with seeming ease and correctness, except that their Welsh bore the stamp of an English accent. Here again, however, the phenomenon was not concerned with a language that previously was absolutely unknown.

Dr. A. Robertson, Art. "Gift of Tongues," H. D., iv. p. 795.

drawn from several languages, and not exclusively from that which the speakers ordinarily used.1

If, however, this explanation of the phenomenon is viewed as insufficient to account for Luke's language in relation to it, and if it be claimed that we must regard him as teaching that the power to speak other languages than their own was bestowed (presumably for the purposes of their mission) upon the Apostles, it is necessary to point out that we have no evidence that this was more than a temporary endowment. It is quite true that patristic tradition not only supposed that the portent took the form of foreign languages, but gradually even made it more wonderful in that each Apostle was regarded as having received power to speak practically all languages.2 But not only was such a gift unnecessary, since Greek-the language in which the whole of the New Testament was first written -was in practice sufficient to carry the Apostles over all the area which their labours actually covered, but, in addition, we have no hint in the New Testament that after Pentecost the Apostles displayed any such linguistic endowment in their evangelistic work. The sermon which Peter preached on the day of Pentecost itself, was delivered in all likelihood in some one language -the Aramaic spoken in Palestine-and it was prob-

² Origen attributes to Paul the supernatural gift of speaking foreign languages, wrongly interpreting I Cor. xiv. 18 in that sense. It was Augustine, followed by Gregory of Nyssa and Chrysostom, who

regarded each disciple at Pentecost as speaking all languages.

¹ This is the explanation favoured by Bartlet (The Apostolic Age, p. 13), who thinks that, glossolaly representing a moment when reflection was in abeyance, words in several languages might emerge, since "many early Christians were at least bilingual or trilingual." He cites as possible instances such combinations of Greek and Aramaic as we get in the original of such ejaculatory expressions as "Abba, Father," "Jesus-anathema."

ably because Peter's linguistic attainments were confined to that, his native speech, that Mark, according to a credible tradition, attended him as his interpreter when the Apostle went abroad where Aramaic was unknown. In view, therefore, of all the considerations adduced in this discussion we can understand why even critics usually regarded as conservative in their tendencies are steadily inclining to the opinion that Luke, in apparently depicting the phenomenon of Pentecost as speech in foreign languages, has been misled by his source. Even Ramsay, who has been foremost in vindicating Luke's trustworthiness as a historian, feels compelled to say that "in Acts ii. 5-II another popular tale seems to obtrude itself. In these verses the power of speaking with tongues, which is clearly described by Paul as a species of prophesying (I Cor. xii. 10 f., xiv. I f.) is taken in the sense of speaking in many languages." 2 Other critics 3 not only believe that the phenomenon of glossolaly has, in being reported, been so transformed as to seem to be speech in foreign languages, but they even suggest how the modification was instigated. A plausible theory is that which, recalling that Pentecost was the anniversary of the gift of the Law on Sinai, sees in the "speaking with other tongues" a Christian parallel to the rabbinic tradition that the voice of God which went forth from Sinai "became seven voices, and from the seven voices

The tradition is attributed to Papias who flourished about 140 A.D. A further fact disclosed in the N.T. itself is that Paul and Barnabas did not understand the Lycaonians when they spoke their native language (Acts xiv. 11), and so obviously those Apostles could not speak that language themselves. Chase (The Credibility of the Acts, pp. 114-117) seems to think that Peter knew Greek, but could not speak it fluently.

2 St. Paul the Traveller, p. 370.

2 E.g., Zeller, Pfleiderer, Spitta, Matthias, Clemen.

was divided into seventy tongues," ¹ that being the number of the languages which were popularly believed to be in use on the earth. The extent, however, to which we can allow for the moulding influence of that tradition upon Luke's record will depend upon the degree of our confidence that, at the time Luke wrote, Pentecost had become associated with the giving of the Law at Sinai. The existence of that connexion in the first century is, as we have already seen, ² a matter of doubt.

We are compelled, therefore, from the insufficiency of the data to leave but partially determined the exact nature of the tongue-phenomena at Pentecost, though broad considerations would seem to show that, if foreign languages came in at all, not only were they not a permanent endowment, but they were represented even on that historic day by broken phrases, fragmentary ejaculations of praise and prayer.3 Whatever additional element, therefore, belonged to it, the Pentecostal phenomenon was akin to the glossolaly at Corinth and elsewhere in that it was psychologically a disturbance of the normal consciousness due to the uprushing of a mighty wave of emotion, the result being that men broke out into ecstatic and almost hysterical utterance. The ordinary connexion between utterance and the rational faculties was swept aside.4 and speech passed into unusual and incoherent forms,

¹ The words occur in a rabbinic comment on Psa. lxviii. 11. A similar idea was entertained by Philo.

² See pp. 145-6.

³ Since writing the above I have been gratified to see that Dr. W. T. Davison in his recent book, *The Indwelling Spirit* (pp. 88-91), comes to substantially the same conclusion.

⁴ It is to this feature that Schmiedel (*Ency. Bibl.*, cols. 4769-70) attributes the use of the term "tongue" to describe the phenomenon, since it seemed to be produced by the tongue alone.

the one thing evident being that the speaker was labouring under strong emotion. Doubtless the phenomenon was of various types, for Paul speaks of "kinds of tongues," though its fundamental characteristic would be as described. For glossolaly thus understood and for ecstasy and trance-like experiences in general a natural explanation as to their process is furnished by psychology. One great gain which has accrued to the study of religious experience is the discovery that, since it is necessarily in its final analysis the experience of man as a thinking, feeling, willing being, it does not differ in its manifestation and processes from other portions of our inner life. Even religion in its impact upon us must work in harmony with the laws governing our mental states. Psychology, therefore, investigating glossolaly and kindred phenomena as items in mental experience, has found common to them as states of mind a strong emotional element. Emotion, present in every mental experience, is here the predominant factor, and, in the case of speaking "with tongues," is so pronounced that it submerges for the moment a man's intellect and will and makes him the creature of the spiritual impulses which are sweeping over him. Psychology teaches that experiences of this type need a certain emotional condition in which to develop. Moreover, that condition may be variously induced.2 There are some persons so highly-strung and sensitive that they easily respond to emotional stimulus. With others less responsive the same stage of exaltation is only reached through a stronger excitation. Now it would seem as though both of these factors—the sensitive soul and the strong

¹ I Cor. xii. 28.

² This fact will be considered later.

impulse—existed in the primitive Church. Orientals are naturally more emotional than we of the West, and this was peculiarly the case with the inhabitants of Corinth. Moreover, in the Gospel message there was a great stimulus to feeling. Our very familiarity with the Gospel makes us fail to see that it must have come to tens of thousands in that first century as a mighty emotional enrichment. Think what it must have meant to many, dwelling in the chill of philosophic doubt or in the darkness of superstition, to see suddenly rising upon them the light and warmth of the new day! Think what it must have meant when men learnt that the Infinite being, unlike the pagan deities whom they feared when they did not despise or discredit them. was really One who loved them, and with such a love as made him ready in Christ even to die for them! Think, above all, what it must have meant to slaves and sensualists, to the despised and the ignorant, when first they knew the riches of Divine grace as theirs, and how much more it must have meant when they felt that the tide of God's redeeming love had passed through them and made them new men in Christ Jesus! We simply cannot put ourselves into their place. The Gospel is an "old, old story" to us. It has lost that enchanting magic of novelty which created the adoring wonder of the early days. And hence, though the love we feel towards God may be as deep and strong as was the love of Christian converts in the first century, it is more quiet in its flow. With them the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and their new devotion had all the passionate exaltation of a great revulsion. We need to remember where religion found them when we are considering what it produced in them. Is it not Huxley who has told us that hidden in the soil

of England there are innumerable seeds of tropical flora, and, if only for one summer we could have here the heat and moisture of the tropics, we should be amazed at the wealth of unfamiliar vegetation that would spring up all over the land? So when the Christians of the Apostolic age passed from the frigid realm of paganism and even from the temperate zone of Judaism into the tropical splendours of the Gospel, it is no wonder that new emotions woke into life, and the Church blossomed with a profusion of

strange spiritual phenomena.

It must not be thought for one moment that, when we interpret these experiences from their human side in terms of psychology, we are doing anything derogatory to the Holy Spirit, or making Him one whit less a factor in their production. "God," as Dr. Inge has finely said, "does not begin where nature leaves off." To explain the modus operandi is not to do away with the Operator. The Holy Spirit still remains as an originating cause; the only change is in our perception as to the mode of His working. We do not need the cause less; we simply understand the effects better. One great advantage of so understanding them is that we are able to distinguish them from spurious imitations. Some men, in discussing these experiences, have sought to discount them by reminding us of the corybantic frenzies common in primitive religions. Or they have recalled the visions of a Mahomet, a Loyola, the maid of Lourdes, or even Joseph Smith, implying that the New Testament visions and revelations were of the same level and value. Whether puerile or fanatical these phenomena are dismissed as unworthy of serious regard. Now psychology helps us to challenge that arrogant temper. We are not driven to the somewhat

insecure position of doubting the veracity of the records in which the seemingly parallel experiences are enshrined. We are not even forced to deny their real occurrence in the individual to whom they are attached. But we are led to see that similarity of experience does not of necessity imply identity of cause. In so far as these abnormal phenomena are originated from without, they can have their source in alien forces of falsehood as well as in the Spirit of truth. In other cases their entire history can be transacted within a man, and he can contain in himself both cause and effect. In other words they can be worked up as well as sent down, and human vanity can have as much to do with their production as Divine inspiration. All things were not what they seemed even in the Corinthian church, and there was room for "discernings of spirits" to detect the false amid the true. Those experiences carried the credentials of their origin not so much in their nature as in their effects. Were they socially helpful? Did they operate healthily upon the man who received them, giving him spiritual fervour and moral stedfastness? Then could they have but one source; they proved the heavenliness of their roots by the heavenliness of their fruits.

That is a point, however, to which it will be necessary to return. Meanwhile, if the explanation of the abnormal spiritual phenomena of the Early Church be that which has been offered, viz., the falling of a strong spiritual influence upon a highly emotional nature, we may, given similar conditions, expect to find them repeated. Bushnell argues strongly for this view in his Nature and the Supernatural, though he explains their recurrence as due to periodical enlargements of activity on the part of the Holy Spirit, whereas it

seems more scientific to attribute their revival to the reappearance of similar conditions in human nature. Not only is a survival or revival of these spiritual phenomena, on the theory propounded, to be expected, but the history of religion shows that to an impressive degree it has actually taken place. Sporadic instances have been constantly happening, for in the wide field of human nature there was always likely to be here or there a soul so constituted that in it religion could stimulate these particular manifestations. So St. Teresa has visions and raptures, and tells even of bodily levitation under spiritual impulse,1 whilst Joan of Arc hears "voices" which she feels to be of heavenly origin. Tust as Indian devotees are able by intense meditation to pass into a rapt state in which they seem loosed from the finite, so Amiel in his Journal Intime speaks of reveries "grand and spacious," of "instants of irresistible intuition in which one feels one's self great as the universe and calm as a god." The vestiges of these experiences are, he says, such "as if they were visits of the Holy Ghost." Russell Lowell tells that once when conversing on spiritual things, "the whole system rose up before me like a vague destiny looming from the abyss. I never before so clearly felt the Spirit of God in me and around me. The whole room seemed to me full of God. The air seemed to waver to and fro with the presence of Something, I knew not what. I spoke with the calmness and clearness of a prophet." Tennyson, too, refers to similar meltings of the frontiers of his consciousness into the Infinite, and describes his waking trances, as he chooses to call them, as "no nebulous ecstasy, but a state of transcendent wonder, associated with absolute clearness of

¹ Granger, The Soul of a Christian, p. 110.

mind." ¹ Surely there we have something akin to the trance or vision which often lay at the back of New Testament prophesying. ² Bushnell, too, in the discussion already referred to, ³ reports instances of "speaking with tongues," of the prophetic gift, and of significant vision, which had come under his own observation.

It has been pointed out that leaders of new religious movements have been specially liable to these manifestations, partly because of their absorbing interest in religion, and partly also because, as Prof. James suggests, in them a superior intellect and a psychopathic temperament coalesced. Men like Luther, Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Francis of Assisi and Lovola all had unusual spiritual experiences. George Fox speaks continually of certain truths being "opened" to him. He says, "I was moved" to do this or that, or, "The Lord said unto me." He must have been strangely like one of the ancient prophets when, on catching sight of the three spires of Lichfield Cathedral, "the word of the Lord came to" him that he must go thither. Under a similar impulse, he, winter though it was, pulled of his shoes, for, says he, "the word of the Lord was like a fire in me," and he went up and down the streets, and into the market-place, crying with a loud voice, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" It was significant also that it was not until afterwards that he discovered a possible explanation of his mysterious message, and of the stream of blood which, he says, seemed to flow down the streets of Lichfield as he preached.4

¹ James, Varieties of Religious Experience, pp. 66, 384, 394.

² The words "I was in the Spirit" (Rev. i. 10) are supposed to point to a trance-like vision.

³ Nature and the Supernatural, pp. 327-336.

⁴ See James, Varieties of Religious Experience, pp. 7, 8.

The spiritual manifestations we are considering cease to be sporadic, and become as general as in the Apostolic Church, especially as regards glossolaly, when we examine the history of new religious movements or of revivals in those already existing. The river, after flowing beneath the surface, seems periodically to reappear in these religious eruptions. Thus-though we could cite instances further back-many of the early Quakers, as well as their founder, had visions and "openings" and revelations. In the third decade of the 19th century the gift of "tongues" is said to have been freely exercised among the followers of Edward Irving. The value of those manifestations, however, is somewhat discounted in view of Irving's deliberate attempt to found a Church completely after the Apostolic pattern. In part they may have been mechanical and purposed products. But that cannot be said of the gift of "tongues" which Erskine of Linlathen reports as having been exercised by the two Macdonalds of Port Glasgow, both of them men of unimpeachable character, and one, as his writings show, a man of great calmness and balanced understanding. Yet associated with them was not only a power of healing the sick, but also occasional lapses into ecstatic utterances not unlike those heard in the Corinthian church. Thomas Erskine, it is true, on later reflection came to regard them as dissimilar; but, dealing with the general reflection he says: "I still continue to think that to anyone whose expectations are formed by, and founded upon, the declarations of the New Testament, the disappearance of these gifts

¹ A deliberate attempt to excite the gift has recently been reported also from Ashton-under-Lyne. See *Daily News* for Feb. 21st, 1911.

from the Church must be a greater difficulty than their

reappearance could possibly be."1

Then what of Methodism? Has there been anything abnormal there? The answer is that singular manifestations are found in the early history of nearly all the Methodist Churches. To follow John Wesley in his travels is in part to make an excursion into wonderland. One of the strangest features attending the Methodist Revival was the way in which numbers fell to the ground under the preaching of the Word, and sometimes writhed there as though in physical agony. In his Journal Wesley refers to such incidents again and again.2 The unaccountable behaviour of certain people gave great offence to others. We are told, e.g., of a young lady, whose mother was much irritated at what she deemed the scandal of her daughter's conduct, but, says Wesley, "the mother was the next who dropped down, and lost her senses in a moment, yet went home with her daughter full of joy." A Quaker, who was denouncing these strange scenes as affectation and hypocrisy, was himself struck down, ere his reproaches were completed. Such marvels had been seen previously in revivals in Scotland

¹ This is also Bushnell's argument.

He tells of a night (Jan. 1st, 1739) spent by himself and sixty others in continual prayer. "About three o'clock in the morning the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding joy and many fell to the ground. As soon as we recovered a little from that awe and amazement at the presence of His Majesty, we broke out with one voice: 'We praise Thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord!'" Wesley speaks also (April 26th, 1739) of people falling to the ground "as if thunderstruck," whilst he was preaching at Newgate. We may compare with this the "falling exercise" and the "jerks," i.e., a convulsive agitation of the whole body, which were witnessed at a revival in Kentucky and Tennessee at the beginning of the 19th century.

and America, and they reappeared in Methodism later.1 How are we to explain these phenomena? As effects they often seem out of all proportion to their apparent cause, and, save in Paul's own case and that of the Philippian jailer,2 the New Testament appears to furnish no analogy to them. Wesley himself noticed that they diminished in number as the revival advanced, and was inclined to regard them as not Divine but demoniacal. "It was Satan tearing" the converts "as they were coming to Christ." Where they were not imitations,3 psychology would explain such phenomena as the concomitants of over-wrought emotion. Just as a sudden shock of fear may paralyse all movement, so when emotion, either by steady accumulation or by a sudden up-rushing, has reached a certain intensity, it may in some natures paralyse for a while the motor centres of the brain, and induce all the phenomena which have been described. The lower nervous centres run riot whilst the higher are in disorder.

As regards other spiritual phenomena instances of what was astonishingly akin to "speaking with tongues," though not so described, must frequently have appeared in Methodism in many a fervent love-feast and prayer-

¹ They were associated with the ministry of such men as Carvosso and Oxtoby. A letter from a Primitive Methodist minister, now superannuated, tells how the writer, when young, saw a strong muscular man tremble like an aspen leaf and then fall flat while Hugh Bourne was quietly speaking. Wesley made a special investigation into cases which happened at Newcastle, and found that the persons affected were in perfect health, and had never been subject to convulsions. The collapse came upon them in a moment, when they were either listening to the preaching, or thinking of what they had heard.

² Acts ix. 4, xvi. 29. The jailer's attitude, however, was probably a deliberate prostration.

³ Charles Wesley exposed some cases of this sort.

meeting of the olden time. Similarly visions and revelations repeatedly occurred. In his Journal, under date Aug. 6th, 1759, Wesley tells of conversation "with Ann Thorn and two others, who had been several times in trances. What they all agreed in was, 1st, that when they went away, as they termed it, it was always at the time they were fullest of the love of God" (a remark of prime significance in any discussion of these experiences); "2nd, that it came upon them in a moment, without any previous notice, and took away all their senses and strength; 3rd, that there were some exceptions, but in general from that moment they were in another world, knowing nothing of what was done or said by all that were round about them." 1 In early Primitive Methodism trance-phenomena gathered, chiefly in the years 1810-11, round James Crawfoot, a sort of religious mystic dwelling in Delamere Forest, and the circle which he influenced. Hugh Bourne witnessed the phenomena and believed in their genuineness. On one occasion he even records his inclination "to seek after the visionary power." The manifestations declined into extravagance and puerility, and for a time disappeared. Later on, however, we hear of them again, and we have Hugh Bourne's sober opinion upon them. Writing in his Journal 2 concerning a religious revival at Prees in Shropshire, he says: "In some places this revival was attended with something rather peculiar. Individuals sank down, and some of them went into trances." He remarks that this phenomena was nothing new in Methodism, but, being imperfectly understood, required to be

¹ Wesley tells also in his *Journal* (Aug. 29th, 1746) of a girl who in a trance had a detailed vision of the next world.

² Under date Oct. 4th, 1828.

guarded against impropriety and imposture. He gives details of some of the incidents at Prees, including an account of two young persons who fell into a trance. "In one stage of the vision they supposed themselves engaged in playing on harps, and the singing, 'To Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood,' was beyond anything I remember to have heard. I gave them the general advice usually given in our Connexion: (1) none to go into vision if they can avoid it; (2) not to lay too much stress upon it; (3) that faith, plain faith, which worketh by love, is greater than these things; but that if anyone's faith was strengthened by them, so far it was well."

Impulses or impressions, which were interpreted as direct messages from God, played their part in the lives of all the Methodist leaders from John Wesley downwards.¹ The early Methodists believed, too, in telepathic relations with absent friends, in a communion of spirit that made them sometimes superior to ordinary means of communication. Thus men like Carvosso received assurance of the safety of relatives far away. A remarkable story is told of Oxtoby—" praying Johnny," as he was called—to the effect that, staying on one occasion with a man who was very much concerned about a vessel of his which was considerably overdue—the more concerned because he had also a son on board—Oxtoby felt greatly drawn out in prayer on his host's behalf, with the result that he assured

¹ Hugh Bourne, when returning from one of his early evangelistic tours, was suddenly and inexplicably impressed with the conviction that he would shortly be dismembered from Wesleyan Methodism, with which he was at the time associated. See also the story of the strange visitation which he is reported to have had within the walls of Lichfield Cathedral (Kendall, *History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, Vol. I., p. 151).

him that the vessel and his son were safe, and would in due time return. He said that God had shown him the ship whilst he was praying. Moreover, though he had never seen the vessel, except in his vision, he declared himself able to recognise it again. And, strange to relate, when the ship did come home, and Oxtoby was sent for, he at once picked it out of many vessels, some near and some remote, which were floating at anchor in Bridlington Bay. Some people accounted for this singular knowledge on the part of Oxtoby by saying that "he lived next door to heaven"; and there may be explanations more scientifically expressed than this, and yet less true.

Reviewing the whole of the phenomena, ancient and modern, which have been under discussion, it is not necessary that we should regard the various types as equally valuable, or as due in every instance of their occurrence to the operation of the Holy Spirit. This reservation becomes specially necessary when we are contemplating such abnormal experiences as trance or glossolaly, where the ordinary control of consciousness seems to be suspended. Such psychic states are suspect the more reasonably because of the intense emotionalism which is their governing condition. So far as they are concerned it is in the creation of the predisposing state of emotion, if anywhere, that we must look for the operation of the Holy Spirit. By the glowing application of such moving truths as the love and mercy or even the wrath of God, or by the vivid excitation of religious hopes 1 the Spirit can be conceived as

¹ Pfleiderer (*Primitive Christianity*, Vol. I., p. 384 f.) thinks that the apocalyptic hopes of the Early Church had much to do with creating an "unnatural feverish tension," Christians by the contemplation of, as they thought, the quickly approaching state of blessedness being lifted into the rapture of ecstasy.

bringing certain natures into a condition so tense that abnormal manifestations follow as a matter of course. It has been found that this condition is more easily induced in those who through overstrain, the excessive expenditure of nervous energy in feeling and action, or through a constitutional hyper-sensitiveness, suffer from agitation or depression of the nervous system, the result being that such persons respond easily and emphatically to moderate degrees of stimulation. But, with the stimulation suitably increased, even a more balanced nature would react in a similar way. After a certain point, therefore, the phenomenon has a purely physical explanation. It is in the reaching of that point that we must discern the activity of the Spirit. When this position is realised, we shall see that He need not be in every case the sole efficient cause. One fact with which any theory has to be reconciled is that the mental disordering characteristic of glossolaly and trance-like ecstasy is not confined to great religious movements within Christianity, but is more or less common in nature-religions. Hence we may assume for it a variety of causes. Intense exaltation of feeling can arise from the vivid contemplation of sublime religious truths; there we can readily admit the operation of the Holy Spirit. But "speaking with tongues" in the Early Church was a social phenomenon; it appeared when a Church was gathered together for worship. In tracing its causes, therefore, some allowance must be made for the social factor, for it is undeniable that a certain contagion of feeling marks the psychology of a crowd, making it possible for emotional manifestations to be semi-mechanically rather than rationally produced. Moreover, unless we accept Locke's theory

of "closed" personality,1 we may surmise that in the spiritual world which lies just beyond the confines of our ordinary consciousness and is ever seeking access to it by any avenue that we leave open, there are influences of more types than one. Granting that the most potent element in that extra-marginal sphere is God, it may contain also influences which are malignant and false. "Seraph and snake," quotes Prof. James, "abide there side by side." In any case incursions from this outer world are constantly being made into our normal consciousness, and, so far as the Holy Spirit is concerned in them, it is the man who has the most doors and windows open in his nature towards the Unseen that will be most aware of its existence and nearness, and it is he who for any reason has a high emotional sensibility, that will afford the most dramatic manifestations of its operation upon him.

When we inquire as to the precise value which we are to attach to such phenomena, we see the enormous debt which the Church owes to the Apostle Paul. The profusion of "spiritual gifts," especially of those concerned with utterance, created at Corinth—a church, as one has bitingly said, that ran mainly to "tongue"—a problem of the first importance. The very decency and reverence of public worship were imperilled, as well as a true doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The notion that His operation was to be looked for mainly in the abnormal and marvellous would, if it had been left uncorrected, have had fatal consequences for religion. We have already noticed the baleful fruit which that one-sided conception has produced in ecclesiasticism. But it was a hindrance also to the true ethicising of

¹ I.e., it is only through the ordinary senses that man is open to external influences. This view can scarcely be maintained to-day.

religious life that charis should count for less than charismata, and gifts impress the imagination much more than graces. The fundamental misconception which Paul had to remove was, as Dr Bruce says, that the Holy Spirit was regarded as a Spirit of power rather than as a Spirit of holiness.1 The quiet transformation of character was less dramatic and showy than "tongues" and ecstasies and healings. Hence, God being felt to be pre-eminently in the abnormal, "spiritual" even became a sort of technical term reserved to denote par excellence the man who spoke with "tongues." Such at least is the restricted sense which the word bears in I Cor. xiv. 37, where we must assume that the Apostle borrows for the moment the terminology of his hearers, and speaks from their point of view. But the exaggerated value thus attached to glossolaly, and indeed to "gifts" in general, left a door open for the entrance of grave abuses, such as appeared, e.g., when Simon Magus coveted the charism, but shrank from the change of heart which was its fitting associate.2 The divorce between "spiritual gifts" and holiness of life reached its climax in the Corinthian church which, wealthy beyond all others of the Apostolic era in "tongues" and "prophecies" and "healings," was yet the church which Paul had to rebuke most sharply for its fractiousness and sensuality. A church apparently the most "spiritual" was in the true meaning of the word the least spiritual of all. It was necessary that someone should establish a new sense of proportion, and give the Church a more elevated doctrine of the

1 St. Paul's Conception of Christianity, p. 245.

² Acts viii. 18-23. Bruce (Op. cit., p. 247) suggests that it was the conjunction sometimes of high religious excitement with low morality which started in Paul the train of thought that led to his doctrine of the Spirit as concerned supremely with the ethical.

Holy Spirit. It lent strength to Paul's treatment of the problem that, sharing, as he did, in some of the "gifts" himself, "tongues" among others, he had no inclination to discredit them as real operations of the Spirit. What he did was to correct the common doctrine by supplementing it. Influenced by his virile common sense and moral enthusiasm he laid down a few simple principles which were of the highest value. In the first place he asserted that the relative worth of the various "gifts" was to be determined by their social utility. A church was a unity, and any contribution presented to it by individual Christians was to be assessed in the light of its value to the organism as a whole. That sound principle at once relegated glossolaly to the background. It was more showy than the other "gifts," it had about it an air of mystery which they lacked; hence it was deemed to be the greatest product of the Spirit, and was on that account most coveted. But Paul brands it as really the least valuable of all. That in a list 1 of "gifts," arranged in what is clearly intended to be a sort of order of merit, "kinds of tongues" should be named last, as being inferentially the lowest, was nothing less than a revolution. Because "tongues" were in the main unintelligible, Paul dismisses them as unedifying, and correspondingly valueless in social worship. At the same time he teaches that they were not to be despised, nor were Christians who possessed that "gift" to be forbidden to exercise it,2 though he exhorts the

¹ I Cor. xii. 28. Noteworthy too, as showing Paul's conviction as to the truth of his whole teaching on "spiritual gifts," is his emphatic warning, at the close of his discussion, to men who thought themselves to be prophets or "spiritual" that what he had written was "the commandment of the Lord" (I Cor. xiv. 37).

² I Cor. xiv. 39.

Corinthians to covet earnestly the greater gifts, and

notably that of "prophecy." i

To introduce a new scale of values into the assessment of "spiritual gifts" was a great thing, and must have done much to discourage the persistence of "tongues." But what the Apostle did next was greater still. In almost the same breath in which he exhorts Christians to "desire earnestly the greater gifts," he goes on to say: "And a still more excellent way show I unto you." What was this "way of surpassing excellence" along which he would beguile them? What was there more to be desired than even the greatest of the "gifts"? The answer is given in I Cor. xiii., that marvellous chapter in which Paul describes the nature of love, and chants its praises. What were "tongues" of men, aye, or even of angels, worth, what "prophecy," what a "faith" able to work wonders or a "gnosis" which even penetrated all mysteries and compassed all knowledge, if they were found unassociated with "love"? What were they, after all, but, at their best, temporal manifestations, destined to disappear when the soul shook off its limitations, and unworthy, therefore, to be matched with "love" which never failed? It was in the ethical, instead of the psychical, that Paul discerned the supreme manifestation of the Spirit. The finest work of the Holy Spirit was the creation of a pure and gracious life. Not "tongues" or "prophecies" but saintliness was the greatest marvel. It was the good man who was pre-eminently the "spiritual" man, and the true "fruit of the Spirit" was not glossolaly or psychical

¹ I Cor. xii. 31, xiv. 39.

² It almost seems as though it is with this specific connotation that Paul employs the term "spiritual" in Gal. vi. I.

wonders, but love, joy, peace and the other workaday graces of the Christian life.¹

This transference of the supreme activity of the Spirit to the ethical sphere, valuable as a principle, carried with it doctrinal implications of equal value. It saved the Church from conceiving of the Holy Spirit as either the monopoly of a section or an intermittent force. That peril was very real when "tongues," which some Christians did not exhibit at all, and others only exhibited occasionally, received an exaggerated spiritual value. But to live a holy life was a constant and universal duty, necessitating, therefore, in all and permanently the spiritual dynamic by which it was to be fulfilled. The advance which Paul's doctrine represented could not be better expressed than it has been by Gunkel. "The community regards as pneumatic the extraordinary in the life of the Christian, Paul the ordinary; they that which is peculiar to individuals, Paul that which is common to all; they that which occurs abruptly, Paul that which is constant; they that which is special in the Christian life, Paul the Christian life itself. Hence the value which the primitive Church attaches to miracles, Paul attaches to the Christian state. No more is that which is individual and sporadic held to be the Divine in man; the Christian man is the spiritual man." We shall share Gunkel's judgment when he adds: "We do not hesitate to pronounce this thought one of Paul's most ingenious and truly spiritual conceptions." 2

One result of this more balanced doctrine of the Holy Spirit was the gradual disappearance of "spiritual gifts" of the more abnormal kind from the Early Church.

¹ Gal. v. 22.

² Quoted by Stevens (The Theology of the New Testament, p. 440).

"Tongues," as being the least valuable, were the first to go, scarcely surviving beyond the first generation of Christians. Justin Martyr speaks of prophetic gifts as exercised in his time, and Irenæus thirty years later makes a similar assertion concerning prophetic visions and healings.1 In due time they also became simply occasional and sporadic. But except in so far as, through the Holy Spirit coming to be regarded as vested solely in the bishops, individualism in the Church was sacrificed in the interests of ecclesiasticism, the process which led to the virtual disappearance from primitive Christianity of the more abnormal phenomena, marked also a healthier doctrine of the Spirit and an ethical advance in the Church. It was in ethics and doctrine a saner Church which lacked those particular "gifts" than the Church which had them. This fact is of prime importance for our estimate of the work of the Spirit in any age or Church. It surely is not necessary to plead that emotion must have a worthy and recognised place in religious experience. The intellect has a right to be satisfied with a coherent system of ideas and the will to attest its surrender by providing a certain type of conduct; but if religion be fellowship with a God whose very essence is declared to be love, it is obvious that the great outgoing of God's heart to us fails of its chief end if it does not elicit from us an answering affection, which shall as completely mould our life of sonship to God as His love regulates the Divine Fatherhood. "We love Him because He first loved us" should be the normal statement of all Christian experi-

¹ See Article "Spiritual Gifts," Ency. Bibl., cols. 4771-2. Moreover, Edghill has pointed out that powers of healing, especially as exhibited in the cure of supposed demoniacs, were a familiar feature of Christianity in the 2nd century (The Revelation of the Son of God, pp. 68-77).

ence. When, to use Paul's expressive phrase,1 "the love of God is poured out" through the Holy Spirit, we may expect that its fruit in us will be "peace and joy in the Holy Spirit "-peace in the sense of harmony between the inner self and God, and joy, partly through the banishment of fear and partly through the elevation and enrichment of the self-consciousness. Nor need we be surprised if religious emotion has some overt, because physical, expression. "I cannot help thinking," said General Gordon on one occasion, "that the body has much to do with religion." 2 Certainly the bond between the spirit and the bodily organism is extremely intimate, making it natural for profoundly moving thoughts concerning God to take to themselves sensuous forms. But if emotionalism in religion thus has its rights, it has also its perils. The experience of it is so pleasant and calls for so little moral effort that the soul is tempted to cultivate moods and raptures to the neglect of its practice in moral strenuousness, and to place in feeling rather than in conduct the test of its standing before God. It is so much easier to confound delight with duty than to make duty our delight. The result is that the "gifts" which are correlated with emotion are in danger of becoming divorced from graces. It would seem, unless we are to take the words ascribed to Him as moulded in their form so as to reflect the later situation in the Church,3 that Jesus Himself anticipated this severance, for concerning some who obviously had "gifts" He is represented as saying: "Many will say to Me in that day, Lord, Lord, did

² Quoted by Granger, The Soul of a Christian, p. 120.

¹ Rom. v. 5.

³ In any case the sayings must be assigned to a comparatively late period in Christ's ministry.

we not prophesy by Thy name, and by Thy name cast out demons, and by Thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from Me, ye that work iniquity." 1 He speaks, too,² of "false prophets," sheep in appearance but wolves by nature, and He lays down the general rule that all religious profession is to authenticate itself by a holy life. It is a sane judgment that Thomas à Kempis passes when he says that "the merits of a man are not to be estimated by his having many visions and consolations." Jesus evidently contemplates the possibility of the operation of the Spirit upon man being sometimes dynamical but not ethical, in that it reinforces the nature without elevating the character. Dr. Denney suggests that the explanation of this phenomenon may be that thought and feeling lie nearer to the surface of our being and are more easily accessible to external influence than the moral nature which, being the deepest and the hardest element within us, is not only the last to be penetrated by the Divine Power, but "may remain unaffected by it when other elements of our being have been subdued to its service." 3 St. Teresa looked with suspicion upon ecstasies which did not brace up the soul and leave it more energetic for the achievement of moral duty,4 and we, too, are bound to discourage a religious emotion which, failing to strike its roots down into the ethical, has not its fitting counterpart in a saintly life.

Nor is it simply by its existence in isolation that emotionalism may be a peril. In those intense forms which favour the emergence of abnormal manifestations

³ Article "Holy Spirit" (§ 7), D. C. G.

⁴ See James' Varieties of Religious Experience, pp. 21, 414 f.

the very strength of the emotion tends to produce reaction, with the result that heavenly rapture is in danger of being succeeded by what has been called "the dark night of the soul." Moreover, graver perils lurk behind, for the tragedy of many a moral lapse has shown that closely allied with intense religious emotionalism is a predisposition to excesses of a sensual type. We have no need to think that all who thus discredit their Christian profession are formalists and hypocrites. It is a matter of psychological experience that intense activity affecting some centre of the brain is liable through its very intensity to overflow into and excite neighbouring centres, and on this principle we may explain the fact that sensual temptations often wait on the heels of vivid religious feeling. If the evil suggestions thus aroused find the soul for the moment off its balance, owing to excessive indulgence in emotion having paralysed the judgment and the will, it is easy to understand how a man in whom there is a sincere aspiration after goodness, may through his intense emotionalism find himself suddenly overtaken by sin. "Overflowing spiritual emotions," said one of the mystics, "consume the spirit." Ecstatical conditions are unhealthy and perilous, and we have no need to regret their disappearance. Nevertheless it is possible to err at the opposite extreme, as Bishop Butler did. In his opposition to everything that savoured of enthusiasm he not only looked with coldness upon the Evangelical Revival, but forbade Wesley to preach in his diocese, and in an interview with that fervent preacher is said to have declared that any claim to the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit was "a very horrid thing, a very horrid thing, sir." It has been

¹ See Article, " Joseph Butler," Ency. Brit., (11th Edition).

observed that, as individual Christians or Churches grow in moral refinement and intelligence, they shed emotional extravagances, and become more restrained in their manifestation of feeling. This need not imply that feeling is less intense than it used to be,1 but only that the nature to which it belongs is more balanced. Convulsive experiences which take us out of ourselves and make us unnatural are not to be coveted. "The operation of the Holy Spirit," says Dr. Inge, "must not be looked for in any abnormal, violent, or mysterious psychical experiences. . . . The wish to strip ourselves of our own personality, to empty ourselves that God may fill the void is, I repeat, a mistake. It is when we are most ourselves that we are nearest to God." 2 Hence the absence of the abnormal spiritual phenomena which characterised primitive Christianity and even early Methodism need occasion no serious concern, as if it were a proof of degeneracy. Changed conditions may be sufficient to account for the changed phenomena. The pulpit of to-day makes less use of the appeal to fear, and does not preach "awakening" sermons of the nature, and to the extent, of years gone by. Moreover, the Churches are winning most of their converts from higher moral levels than was the case in the past. The Apostles, and the earlier Methodist preachers in their turn, gained their trophies of grace from the world, and from a very sinful and degraded world too. To-day the membership of the Church is largely recruited from those who have been reared in Christian homes, and have been more or less the subjects of religious training.

¹ As Dr. Peake says (Christianity, Its Nature and Its Truth, p. 7), "It is, perhaps, more likely that the fire glows even more hotly because the heat is not flung off in such a shower of sparks."

² Faith and Knowledge, p. 167 f.

Consequently their conversion is less sudden and convulsive; the change from nature to grace does not present the sharp contrast to them which it did to men in the past. One result, therefore, is that their salvation has less of the note of amazement in it. The thought of it awakens love, but that emotion has none of the characteristics of reaction, it is not the turbulent thing which tossed and surged in the hearts of the early Christians.

But if spiritual life to-day has a more even current, of what concern is that if only it is really life, and is giving the most satisfactory evidence as to its existence and nature? After all, quality of emotion is not parallel with quantity of vocal or dramatic demonstration. It is not the Apostolic "gifts" that we need to covet so much as the Apostolic graces. Fervour of love, holiness of character, zeal in Christian servicethese are the tests by which we must discover our moral standing. Of abnormal spiritual phenomena, whether of the first or of later centuries, it remains true that "whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away; whether there be tongues, they shall cease." But "love never faileth." Love is, and must be, the abiding characteristic of the Church, the sure and final evidence that it is the home of the Spirit of God. To exhibit love is not simply to be in line with the Apostolic Church, but is even to resemble it at its best. For "now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love."

"When tongues shall cease, and power decay,
And knowledge empty prove,
Do Thou Thy trembling servants stay
With faith, with hope, with love."

CHAPTER IX

The Spirit of Christ

ONE characteristic of the world into which Christianity came is that it was saturated with beliefs in animistic or spiritual influences. It has already been seen how true this was as regards Palestine, and how the belief in demonic and angelic powers is reflected in the teaching and work of Jesus. But similar ideas prevailed in the heathen world also. Reference has previously been made to the Greek doctrine of inspiration. Delphi, with its Pythian priestess, had long sustained the tradition of the divine so entering into the human and usurping its faculties as to make it after a mechanical fashion the vehicle of an inspired communication, prophecy being thus reduced to a species of ventriloquism. It was to a divine "possession" of this type that the poor slave-girl with whom Paul came in contact at Philippi is said to have owed her gift of fortune-telling. She had, so Luke says, "a Python spirit" 2—a phrase which seems to imply that Apollo, the god of the Pythian oracle, was regarded as the source of her inspiration. Greek thought differed from Jewish in that it used the term "demon" to cover all types of spiritual agency. Hence Paul, when complimenting the Athenians on what we should call their religiousness, uses a term

1 See p. 30.

² This is the literal translation of the Greek phrase in Acts xvi. 16.

which literally means "demon-fearing," 1 just as they also, when they discovered from his conversation that in Jesus there was being presented to them a new object of worship, dismissed him as apparently "a setter forth of strange demons." 2 Moreover, in the popular thought of Greece mysterious disease, e.g., epilepsy, was regarded as the result of supernatural possession. Hippocrates, who wrought to combat this view, describes how some symptoms were attributed to Apollo, and others to Neptune.3 In addition many Greek writers give accounts of "enthusiastic" phenomena, of bacchanals and mænads, men and women, who under the influence of an excitement amounting almost to frenzy danced in religious processions, and in violent and even convalsive forms manifested transports at religious festivals, these exhibitions being attributed to the "possession" of the corybant by the god in whose honour the feast was held. It is noteworthy that our very word "enthusiasm" recalls these orginastic phenomena, since it denoted in its Greek original "possession by a God." Similar ideas were reflected in the various mystery-cults of Greece, and hence we may conclude that in the first century of our era heathen as well as Tew believed in the possibility of immediate contact between man and supernatural powers.

Such a belief undoubtedly paved the way for the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit, but it raised at

Acts xvii. 22. The translation should be, not "superstitious," but "religious."

² Acts xvii. 18. The two new "demons" seem to have been

Jesus and Anastasas (or "Resurrection").

³ For some account of Hippocrates and the popular notions concerning disease which he assailed, see Art., "Luke the Physician and Ancient Medicine," by Rev. J. Naylor (*Hibbert Journal*, Vol. VIII., p. 29 ff.).

the same time practical difficulties. Some of the abnormal phenomena witnessed in the Church at Corinth, notably prophesying and "tongues," were akin to certain presumedly Divine "possessions," with which some of the Corinthian Christians had been familiar in their heathen days. "You know," says St. Paul to them, "that when you were heathen, it was to the voiceless idols, when from time to time you were led, you were always being carried away." 1 The suggestion was that the pagan divinities, being voiceless themselves, could inspire no clear consciousness and articulate confession in their devotees. This fact, therefore, led the Apostle to declare how, as regards source, the Corinthians were to distinguish the spiritual phenomena in the Church from those which they had known when heathens, so as to recognise the former as indubitably the product of the Spirit of God. Evidently there was needed a criterion other than the external form of the phenomena or even the subjective impression of the man "possessed." Obviously the latter element has validity, and quite fittingly does Prof. James cite "immediate luminousness" as one of two tests which should be applied to spiritual phenomena to discover their value. But even sincerity is no bulwark against error, and a mere claim, however honestly made, that it is a Divine message which is being uttered cannot be the end of controversy. The Corinthians were not expected to take at their facevalue all spiritual utterances. The "prophet" had to run the gauntlet of discussion and criticism, and through this means we may be sure that much which was merely

¹ I Cor. xii. 2.

² Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 18. The other criterion is "moral helpfulness."

fanciful and speculative was set aside. Similarly the Thessalonians were urged to "prove" all spiritual utterances,1 and to discredit a particular message even if it happened to come to them "by spirit." Once more, John tells his readers not to believe "every spirit"—the phenomenon of prophecy being, as the context shows, mainly before his mind-"because many false prophets are gone out into the world "3 Such instances of pseudo-inspiration we should incline hastily to dismiss as the misread product of vanity or private speculation, but it is noteworthy that the New Testament does not so dismiss them. It assigns to them also a supernatural source, premissing only that the "spirit" producing them was one of delusion and evil. We have to be on our guard against a somewhat ambiguous use of the term "spirit." In one or two instances, as e.g., when the Corinthians are said to be "zealous of spirits," 4 the effect is described in terms of the cause. In such a statement, however, as "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," 5 more is probably contemplated by the term "spirits" than separate operations of the one Holy Spirit. Inspiration from other and evil sources is before the Apostle's mind, the one characteristic of prophetic inspiration, let its source be what it may, being, as for the moment he is concerned to urge, that the prophet never lost, as in glossolaly, the rational control of his

¹ I Thess. v. 2I. ² 2 Thess. ii. 2. ³ I John iv. I.

⁴ I Cor. xiv. 12. The phrase may mean that the Corinthians were enthusiasts either for the reception of spiritual influences or for the possession of spiritual gifts.

I Cor. xiv. 32. The plural "spirits" here may represent either separate operations of the one Spirit, or the activities of various spirits. "Seven," as applied to the Holy Spirit (Rev. i. 4), denotes, not plurality, but perfection.

faculties. To Paul, therefore, and the early Christians, falsehood as well as truth could be inspired. Consequently, if the Church was not to be at the mercy of every crank who avowed inspiration, a corrective had to be applied to individualism and subjective impression. In part this was found in the sanctified intelli-gence of the Church. It was assumed that if the Holy Spirit was in a speaker as the source of utterance, He was also in the hearers as the ground of critical understanding. Obviously if God is eager for the utterance of a certain truth. He must be anxious also that it shall get home, and be recognised by those who hear it as the Divine and true thing it actually is. Inspiration, therefore, is needed in the pew as well as in the pulpit. The work of the Spirit belongs, though in a secondary degree, to the endorsement of a truth as well as to its original perception and avowal, and in this sense it is always true that there is no revelation without inspira-tion. "God must be felt in the soul if He is to be heard in the Word." Within what limitations this faculty of collective criticism was meant to apply and upon exactly what principles it worked we shall need to see later. Meanwhile the criterion of judgment upon which Paul laid most stress, and to which all "Spirit" utterances, whether glossolalia or prophesying, were expected to conform, was in nature simple in that it contemplated a specific quality in the subject-matter of the utterance. "I give you to understand," the Apostle says to the Corinthians, "that no man speaking in the Spirit of God saith, Jesus is anathema; and no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit." In plain words, the confession, "Jesus is Lord," was the test by which utterances due to the Holy Spirit were

¹ I Cor. xii. 3.

validated, just as the declaration, "Jesus is anathema," pointed to another source of inspiration. "Jesus is anathema," Jesus is Lord, are the battle-cries of the spirits of error and of truth contending at Corinth."

But what are we to understand precisely by this confession of Jesus as Lord? If, as some think, the confession was nothing more than a simple statement bearing that meaning with which the "inspired" speaker prefaced his prophetic or glossolalic utterance, that, according to the current view of inspiration, would be regarded, even if consciously uttered by the speaker, as prompted by the Spirit moving within him. We, however, can see that such a confession, if confined to a mere form of words, would be in danger of becoming mechanical and of thus attesting an utterance which was not Divinely inspired. To be adequate the testing confession needed to appear not in some introductory formula, but in the whole spirit and trend of the utterance which sought authentication. Concerning every sample of "prophesying" the early Christians needed to ask: Does it exalt the Jesus of faith? Does it fulfil Christ's own word in relation to the work of the Spirit: "He shall glorify Me"? 2 It is only when read in this large sense that Paul's criterion of discrimination is valid for all time. There were two elements in its faith, viz., the humiliation and the exaltation of Jesus, on which the Early Church felt that it had reached finality. That in the historic Jesus God had been manifest in a human form, and that the same Jesus, ascending to where He was before, had taken His place at the right hand of Power-in the words

¹ G. G. Findlay on I Cor. xii. 3 (Expositor's Greek Testament).

² John xvi. 14.

of Peter, 1 had been made "both Lord and Christ"were the two poles of Christian faith. For a man speaking "in Spirit" to deny either of these beliefs was, in the judgment of the Church, to disprove the real inspiration of all else that he said. For while the confession of the Lordship of Jesus was the criterion which satisfied Paul, John, having specially in mind those heretical teachers who taught that the Divine Christ had simply entered into a purely human Jesus at the Baptism and had deserted Him prior to the Passion, declares that "every spirit which confesses that Jesus Christ," i.e., our Lord in the duality of His nature, "is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which annulleth Jesus," i.e., breaks up the unity of His Divine-human personality, "is not of God." "Hereby know ye," says John, "the Spirit of God." Hence it would appear that what was virtually a dogmatic test was imposed on "spirit" utterances, the assumption being that any new teaching presented as "inspired" was ipso facto discredited if it implicitly or explicitly denied the main substance of existing belief.

Now concerning that criterion it requires to be said that, whatever its value, it could only work within a specific area. It contemplated simply the Church and the scheme of Christian truth as the sphere and instrument of the Spirit. As Dr Denney says,3 "the Spirit is for St Paul specifically Christian. It is not the power or the life of God simpliciter, but the power or the life of God as God has been manifested in Christ, and especially in His resurrection and exaltation." Hence the Apostle's criterion will be felt to be valid enough against the oracle-mongers and corybantic ex-

² I John iv. 2, 3.

cesses of paganism; these can be dismissed as not the product of the Holy Spirit. But there is another type of spiritual phenomena manifest in paganism to which its application is less conclusive. Ere, however, this problem is discussed, it is necessary to ascertain what New Testament writers mean by speaking, as they do, of the Holy Spirit as "the Spirit of Christ." Alternative expressions are "the Spirit of Jesus," "the Spirit of Jesus Christ," 3 or (in the Pauline literature) "the Spirit of the Lord" 4—a phrase bearing the same meaning as the other two seeing that "Lord" had come to be an accepted description of the ascended Christ. One possible misinterpretation of these phrases must be avoided. The word "spirit" in our complex usage of it has come to mean, among other things, "disposition, temper," making it easy, therefore, for the incautious thinker to take such a passage as "If any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His," 5 to refer to the possession of the character or disposition of Jesus. But no usage of this kind can be clearly observed in the New Testament.6 In the passage cited "Spirit" is rightly spelt with a capital letter, since it denotes the Holy Spirit, which in some way or other is so associated with Christ as to deserve to be called "the Spirit of Christ."

What then is the nature of this association? The phrase which suggests the problem is somewhat indeterminate in its meaning. It might imply merely

¹ Rom. viii. 9, 1 Peter i. 11.

² Acts xvi. 7.

³ Phil. i. 19.

^{4 2} Cor. iii, 17.

⁵ Rom. viii. 9.

⁶ The nearest approach to this meaning is in 1 Peter iii. 4, where the Christian wife is exhorted to put on "the incorruptible apparel of a meek and quiet spirit," and in 1 Cor. iv. 21, where Paul speaks of "a spirit of meekness."

that the Holy Spirit was related to Christ as being sent by Him, that the Spirit was a gift whose bestowal lay within the control of the ascended Lord. The thought thus expressed is undoubtedly one which came to be held in the Apostolic Church. To both Peter and Paul the Holy Spirit was the gift of the glorified Lord,1 was indeed the evidence of His exaltation. Moreover, a similar view is partially reflected in the Fourth Gospel, for whilst the Paraclete is represented as being given by the Father at the request of the Son,2 or as being sent by the Father in the name of the Son,3 He is spoken of once again as proceeding from the Father and sent by the Son.4 "Whom I will send unto you from the Father," "I will send Him unto you" are phrases put by the Evangelist into the lips of Jesus. But are such sayings to be interpreted simply in a hard and mechanical way? Is all they really mean this-that the glorified Christ is a sort of spiritual reservoir into which the Holy Spirit, passing from its primal fount the Father, has been gathered, with the result that the only source of the Spirit for the world is the glorified humanity of Jesus, which, to quote Dr Dale,5 "is the very home and temple of the Spirit of God "?" In Him," i.e., in the ascended Christ, says Dr. Swete, "'the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost' is stored for the use of mankind." Are we, then, to take such a phrase as "Whom the Father will send," simply to mean that the Holy Spirit as God's gift to the world has been handed over to the keeping and control of the Son, and that there, except that its "procession" from Him

¹ Acts ii. 33, Eph iv. 7, 8.

² John xiv. 16. 4 John xv. 26, xvi. 7. 3 John xiv. 26.

⁵ Christian Doctrine, p. 146.

The Holy Spirit in the N.T., p. 299.

abides, the Father's connexion with the gift ceases? The notion is put bluntly, but it does not unfairly represent the conclusions of some eminent thinkers. But if that be the sole or even the main element in the Spirit's relation to Christ, it seems to amount to little more than a matter of machinery within the Godhead, and, except that it can serve to buttress certain ecclesiastical theories, it has no serious value—no value, at any rate, as regards the qualitative nature of the Holy Spirit's influence upon us. That will be determined less by whence He comes than by what He brings. Moreover, there will arise in an inquiring mind a few awkward, but relevant, questions. From what moment is this economical arrangement to be dated? If it be, as is commonly assumed, the glorification of Jesus, the ascended Lord becoming from that time onward the sole channel of the Holy Spirit, one necessarily asks what was the arrangement which prevailed before then. Through what channel did the Holy Spirit given to Jesus at His baptism come? The Spirit declared in the Old Testament to be even then the source of life and wisdom, the ground especially of prophetic inspiration-how was that mediated? Once more, whilst the Spirit was in the incarnate Jesus, was the whole Spirit there, or did the phrase, "full of the Spirit," when applied to Jesus, simply mean that His endowment was the maximum that human nature is able to receive? If the former be claimed as the meaning, the question then emerges as to how the cosmic functions of the Spirit were being discharged during the humiliation of Jesus. These problems and, indeed, the whole range of spiritual experience, pre- as well as post-Pentecostal, must be taken note of by any theory which claims to be scientific. And yet too often they are ignored, as they are by that brilliant writer, Dr. Moberley, whose power of expression must not blind us to the incompleteness of his synthesis when, neglecting all previous disclosures of the Spirit in life and thought, he treats Pentecost as marking the beginning of the doctrine, because marking the manifestation, of the Spirit,1 instead of being, as we have seen, His manifestation with a specific quality or potency. It may be quite true that "Son" and "Spirit" when conjoined with each other or with "God" or "Father" in New Testament thought, contemplate historic manifestations rather than eternal modes of existence, so that the Spirit of Christ implies the Spirit of the Incarnate, who is also the Spirit of God, since the God whom we know is disclosed to us through Christ. But revelation, though consummated in Jesus, was not initiated by Him, and a theological construction which ignores or even disparages pre-Christian revelation and the activity of the Spirit therein is as defective as the materials with which it works are incomplete.

We are not concerned to deny that there is a mystical side to the Divine operation upon men. We have no right to speak of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit in

Atonement and Personality. "It is thus indeed as sequel and consummation of the accomplished completeness of the Incarnation, that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit begins to be unveiled to man's thought at all: as sequel, because the manifestation of the Holy Ghost must follow, and could not precede, the Incarnate Life of God" (p. 181). "If it once be conceded that the revelation of the Holy Ghost is a revelation of the New Testament, not of the Old, it will be obvious that that revelation in the New Testament is made, not as an independent or separate vista into truth, but as a sort of necessary sequel or climax to the meaning of Incarnation, at the moment when Incarnation proper, that is, the life lived by God the Son in flesh, upon earth, was immediately drawing to its close" (p. 194).

such a way as to imply that each Person has His distinctive operation upon us in which He stands unrelated to the other Two. The truth is that the act of one Person of the Godhead is the act of all. The works of the Father, the redemption of the Son, the coming of the Spirit, are acts in which, though one Person of the Divine Being is more present to our thought, the whole Godhead is involved. What the Father does, He does through the Son and the Spirit; the Spirit in His coming brings with Him the Father and the Son. "The presence of the Spirit is not a substitute for the presence of the Father and the Son, but the assurance and realisation of it." 1 Hence, as Dr. Moberley says, "Christ in you, or the Spirit of Christ in you; these are not different realities; but the one is the method of the other. It is in the Eternal Christ that the Eternal God is revealed in manhood, to man. It is in the Person of His Spirit that the Incarnate Christ is Personally present within the spirit of each several man." 2 We might recover also for our doctrine of the Spirit that unity which the phrase "the Spirit of Christ" interpreted as inaugurating a new arrangement at Christ's glorification imperils, if we read a deeper meaning into the term "Christ," taking it to stand, so to speak, for the principle of revelation, the eternal self-disclosure of God to the race 3 -a principle, therefore, always active, and in all its various degrees and forms made effective by the Spirit, though it was in the historic Jesus that this principle reached its final, because perfect, expression. And yet, however true all this may be, we are by no means

² Atonement and Personality, p. 194.

¹ Forrest, The Christ of History and of Experience, p. 207.

³ In r Peter i. 11 the inspiration of the O.T. prophets is attributed to "the Spirit of Christ,"

convinced that in either the mystical or the speculative conception we are in touch with what the New Testament writers really meant when they described the Holy Spirit as "the Spirit of Christ." One thing which close study of the New Testament makes clear to us is that its ideas and, therefore, its terms were framed in an atmosphere not of speculation but of experience. The angle from which all truth is seen is that of its manifestation in life. Hence, when Paul speaks of the Spirit, it is in no world of abstract generalisations that he is moving, but simply within the confines of the immediate experience of the Church. In one word, it is the Christian experience of the Spirit which he and other New Testament writers seek to formulate. Now that experience throughout was reminiscent of Christ. For it is a mistake to think that the Holy Spirit, when He comes to a being like man, comes empty-handed or operates in vacuo. It is difficult to see how we could have any consciousness whatever of the Spirit except through His working upon us, or how such working could be possible, save as the Spirit availed Himself of something by which He could appeal to intelligent and moral beings like ourselves. His action upon us is not magical but rational. His presence is made known to us mediately, i.e., through the truth with which He operates. Dr. Denney has pointed out 1 that the two factors which, according to St. Paul, appear in the work of salvation are one Divine, the Holy Spirit, and the other human, the attitude of faith; for the Apostle speaks of salvation as constituted by "a consecration wrought by the Spirit and belief of the truth." 2 The "truth" presented as an object to faith is the "truth as it is in Jesus," the full message of Christ. These

¹ Art., "Holy Spirit," D. C. G., vol. i., p. 738. ² 2 Thess. ii. 13.

two factors may be distinguished in thought, but they are united in their working. "The Spirit dwelling in the heart sanctifies through Christ dwelling in the heart by faith, and by thought in order to faith." It is only as the Spirit works with Christian ideas that the product can in quality be Christian.

It is thus that we reach the main truth reflected in the phrase, "the Spirit of Christ." The experience thus recalled is not so much mystical as simple and rational. New Testament terminology is an attempt to express an experience, and moves within the limits which that experience prescribed. As regards the Holy Spirit the main concern of early Christian thinkers was to formulate what He was to them. Now His operation, as they knew it, bore an indubitably Christian stamp. It was concerned wholly with Christ. The Spirit brought back to memory the words and works of the earthly ministry, giving men a new insight into the meaning of the whole revelation expressed in Jesus; the Spirit also made real to men the nature and value of the work which Christ had gone on to do, by declaring His final meaning for the world and His immediate message to the Church. It was in this way that the Spirit took of the things of Christ. Christianity was simply Christ-the Christ of the Throne as well as of the Cross, the Christ of time and the Christ of eternity. To know Christ was to know God's speech to man through Him; to receive Him mystically by faith was to experience the powers of redemption and sanctification which were embodied in Him; "the mind of Christ" was to be able to pronounce on problems of present duty and future progress. Christ in this large sense filled the sky of the early Christians. They had no

¹ Bruce, St. Paul's Conception of Christianity, p. 254.

interests apart from Him. There was nothing in their religious experience which was not somehow related to Christ, either as being derived from Him, or as running up into Him. God, sin, salvation, Christian character and obligation, social duties, the historic situation, the future of the Church and the world, were all surveyed simply in the light which Christ was felt to throw on them. To those early Christians Christ was the supreme reality. He filled their thought-world and explained their experience. Hence, vivid as was their sense of the Holy Spirit, it was only of a Holy Spirit who wrought with the full Christ as His material. They never thought of Him, e.g., as mediating God's disclosure of Himself through nature, or as inspiring the vision of the beautiful in the artist or the perception of truth in the poet. They knew Him simply as One who came to them with a distinctly Christian message, and wrought in them a specifically Christian work, and that is why He was to them "the Spirit of Christ." That is why also the Spirit, while viewed as distinct from Christ-"another Paraclete,"—could be regarded as identical with Him, the alter ego of Jesus, Christ in an inward and abiding form. The result was that "Christ" and "the Spirit of Christ" admitted of being interchangeable terms, the coming of Jesus and the coming of the Spirit

¹ As they do, e.g., in such passages as Rom. viii. 9, 10, where, after religious experience has been described as due to the indwelling of the Spirit of God, the Apostle goes on to say, "And if Christ is in you," &c. So to the Corinthians he can say, "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" (I Cor. iii. 16), and also, "Know ye not as to your own selves, that Jesus Christ is in you?" (2 Cor. xiii. 5). Similarly being "strengthened with power through His" (i.e., God's) "Spirit" seems the same experience desired in the prayer "that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith," just as "To know the love of Christ" is correlated with "That ye may be filled with all the fulness of God" (Eph. iii. 16, 17, 19).

could be regarded as alternative expressions for the same event, and-most striking usage of all-Paul could even speak as if Christ and the Spirit were one and the same, as he does, when he speaks of "the Lord the Spirit "1 or says, "Now the Lord is the Spirit" It is in identity of function that we must seek the ex-

planation of this apparent identity of agent.

We find the same point of view exhibited in the Johannine Epistles. There it would seem as though religious experience is associated more directly with Christ, for it is "he who hath the Son" who "hath life," s this being described again as being "in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ." 4 Religion is an abiding in Christ, which is exhibited in keeping His commandments and walking even as He walked.5 But, on the other hand, this experience is related to God (spoken of fittingly as "the Father," since it is God as revealed in Christ and as setting through that revelation the norm of Christian obligation, who is meant all the while), for the Christian fellowship "is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ," 6 and to deny the Son is to lack the possession of the Father.7 Since love is of the essence of God, "he that loveth not knoweth not God." 8 Love, too, is the condition and evidence of the Divine indwelling, for "if we love one another, God abideth in us." And yet the experience thus described is related also to the Spirit, for the evidence that we abide in God and God in us, is that "He hath given us of His Spirit," 9 just as the same

^{1 2} Cor. iii. 18. The marginal rendering (R.V.) is "the Spirit which is the Lord." ² 2 Cor. iii. 17.

⁴ I John v. 20. 6 I John i. 3.

⁸ I John iv. 8.

⁸ I John v. 12.

⁵ I John ii. 5, 6.

⁷ I John ii. 23.

⁹ I John iv. 12, 13.

test authenticates also the indwelling in us of Christ, who gave the commandment of love. "Hereby," says John, "we know that He abideth in us, by the Spirit which He gave us." There is only one possible interpretation of the Divine names as they are used in these sayings. They are not absolute but relative. "Father," "Son" and "Spirit" do not refer to the absolute relations of the Godhead, or to the complete circle of activities which those relations involve. They are terms charged simply with their Christian meaning. They refer merely to the three Persons of the Godhead as they appear in the historical revelation brought by Christ, and made luminous and effective in the experience of the Church. The terms move within the limits of Christian faith and experience. "God" or "Father" is but God as made known in Jesus, and is, therefore, in content so identical with "Son," since Jesus is the revelation which He brings, that the same conception is meant when we speak of the "Son." The Spirit, again, as the Church knows Him, is so absolutely concerned with that revelation, either in interpreting it, or in using it as the instrument of spiritual transformation, that He too is spoken of as if His association with the "Son" exhausted both His functions and His materials. One can readily endorse Dr. Moberley's view 2 that it is historical, rather than essential, relations which the New Testament writers have before them when they speak of the various Persons of the Trinity, for their thoughts and, therefore, their terms move within the confines of their religious experience. The God of whom they are thinking all the while is simply God as He stands disclosed in the Christian facts. That point of view has apologetic value since it evidences

¹ I John iii. 24.

² Atonement and Personality, p. 185 ff.

the store which the early Christians set by history. The Christ of faith was not allowed to be divorced from the Jesus of fact. Development in the conception of His person and message there undoubtedly was, but the most advanced presentation was, as in the Fourth Gospel or the Apocalypse, always identified with the Jesus of the Incarnate life. Moreover, it was extremely important that the Christian facts and the experience created through them should receive peculiar emphasis, for it is in them that God has come to His most luminous self-expression. Just because of their fundamental importance we can rejoice in such an absorption in those facts as seemed to see them and nothing else.

Yet if the specialist has value, he has also defects: and the New Testament doctrine of the Spirit has the drawbacks of specialisation in that, while true, it is not the whole truth. Once more there is impressed upon us the importance of not merely learning New Testament ideas, but of taking note of their atmosphere. In other words, exposition must be succeeded by criticism. One writer has remarked that in the Old Testament "the Spirit is never used as a cause except of those things which have to do with the people of Israel." 1 Similarly, in the New Testament the Holy Spirit has no function or activity except in relation to the new Israel constituted by the exalted Christ.2 But, whilst gladly acknowledging that as the supreme sphere of the Spirit, we cannot be content until His work there has been related to all that historically prepared for it, and to the full impact, present and past, of God upon the world. Only when it reflects this comprehensive view can our doctrine of the Spirit be truly

1 Wood, The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature, p. 9.

² Apart, that is, from the Spirit's operation in Jesus Himself.

scientific. Whilst justly spoken of as "the Spirit of Christ," since it is in the revelation brought and enacted by Christ that He finds His noblest and most effective instrument, the Holy Spirit is at the same time the Divine Influence which, operating outside religion and the Christian revelation, has wrought in all who, fired by the love of truth, have patiently laboured for the advancement of knowledge; in poet and artist who have sought to give to the true and the beautiful an ideal expression; in the statesman who has endeavoured to evolve nobler social conditions, to plant in the soul of the nation and exhibit in its corporate action the principles of humanity and justice; in all who have tried to fulfil commonplace and secular duties in the spirit of a divine vocation, because even in such things they realised that they were "God's fellow-labourers." Homely as are their form it is truth which shines out from the words put by George Eliot into the mouth of Adam Bede. "There's the Sperrit o' God in all things and all times—weekday as well as Sunday—and i' the great works and inventions, and i' the figuring and the mechanics. And God helps us with our headpieces and our hands as well as with our souls." The Spirit, in so far as He works in these non-religious fields, will sometimes operate with ideals of duty which owe something, even though it be but indirectly, to Christ and His teaching, but, in the case of earnest thinkers and workers who knew nothing of Christianity, His operation upon them must have been through other ideas than those made known by Christ, making it fitting, therefore, that in such instances of His working He should be described as "the Spirit of God," rather than "the Spirit of Christ." Moreover, not only does the activity of the Spirit outside religion need to be correlated with

His work within it, but His operation in non-Christian faiths and in the lives of noble pagans needs to be brought within the compass of any doctrine which claims to be final. Paul's criterion of discrimination, viz., the confession of Jesus as Lord, is adequate enough when applied to Pythian oracles and corybantic enthusiasm. Such non-moral phenomena may be dismissed as subjective experiences, as extravagances of religious feeling which had their beginning and end simply in the human spirit. But paganism had another and nobler side. Paul was little inclined to see in it a sphere where the Holy Spirit was at work, partly because the ideas which he had inherited from the Old Testament, made the gods of paganism, in so far as they were not "vanities," to be demons, and partly because, through the moral bankruptcy to which religion and philosophy in both Greece and Rome had been reduced, it was the sordid impurity and moral impotence of Gentile life of which, just because it was everywhere before his eyes, Paul was most aware. Occasionally he seems to recognise, it is true, some moral excellence in heathendom, for he speaks of "Gentiles which have no law," who, nevertheless, "do by nature the things of the law," thus showing "the work of the law in their hearts." 2 He allows, too, for the possibility of some approach to

¹ Paul's idea varies somewhat. In Gal. iv. 8, 9 the objects of heathen worship are described, negatively, as "no gods," and, positively, as "weak and miserable elements," i.e., subordinate spirits who preside over the world-elements, and who have no power apart from that which is conceded to them by God. In 1 Cor. viii. 4, read in the light of v. 5, reality is denied to the heathen divinities as gods, whilst in 1 Cor. x. 20, sacrifice to them is equivalent to sacrifice to "demons,"—a term which, in Paul's use of it, probably represented spirits not simply inferior to God, but hostile in attitude and evil in nature. Paul regarded heathendom as the domain of Satan.

² Rom, ii, 14, 15.

truth, by heathen minds, for the Apostle speaks of the religious ideas which are derivable from the bounty of nature,1 or from the existence and character of the universe.2 He reminds the Athenians also of the groping after Him which God had intended to provoke by His distribution of the nations over the face of the globe and the ordering of their history.3 The virtues and truths thus referred to belong to what we call "natural religion." But that Paul thought that the formal heathen religions included this "natural religion" is extremely doubtful. For in Rom. i. 21 he speaks of the knowledge derivable from contemplation of the universe as being perverted and lost in idol worship, and, even when he compliments the Athenians on being "unusually religious," and finds in their existing observances a point of contact with the Gospel he was bringing them, it is noteworthy that it was in "an altar to an unknown god," a recent and unnamed addition to the Greek pantheon, and not in the religious conceptions which gathered round familiar deities like Zeus or Artemis, that the Apostle detected a dull recognition of the God of the Christian faith.4 John occupied much the same point of view when he identified the Jesus of history with the Logos of Greek philosophy. He was not seeking, any more than was St. Paul at Athens, to discover Christian ideas in heathen thought, but to translate Christian truths into a heathen terminology.5

Hence it is doubtful whether New Testament writers viewed heathen faiths as in any way a sphere of the Spirit of God. Yet must not we do so? Must not

¹ Acts xiv. 17.

² Rom. i. 19, 20.

³ Acts xvii. 26, 27.

⁴ Acts xvii. 22, 23.

⁵ For a discussion of this point the writer would refer to his St. John and other N.T. Teachers, pp. 13-17.

the things of nobility and truth which the science of comparative religion has delineated in the great faiths of the world, and even the dull sense of a supernatural order to which the rites and superstitions of the most debased savages bear witness, have their explanation in the universal working of that Spirit who, when He cannot do all that He would, does what He can, and plants even in the most stubborn soil some wholesome seeds of truth? Are there not ethnic faiths which have enjoined noble precepts and produced followers not unworthy of the name of "saint"? Did the Spirit whom we see in the Church, stand unrelated to these products? It is significant that Socrates used to speak of his "demon," an inner and spiritual monitor which in the clear light of consciousness was heard by him as a voice of warning or exhortation, directing his feet in the path of duty and truth.1 Seneca, the Roman statesman and philosopher of Paul's own day, believed that in every man there dwelt, as the principle of good, a "god" or "holy spirit" who, coming from a higher world, sought to make the Divine more fully known to man, and to aid him in all his strivings upward.2 Epictetus taught that to each man had been given a "demon" to save him from danger and deception, so that the man who withdrew within himself was not alone, but found there "God and his demon." A similar idea was expressed in Philo's doctrine of the Logos, in which there was a fusion of Jewish and Gentile conceptions. Had the experiences which these ideas reflect no connexion with the Spirit of God? Nay,

¹ This and the other references to heathen teaching and experience are cited by Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, Vol. I. p. 374 ff.

^{2&}quot; God is nigh thee, He is with thee, He is within thee. I tell thee, Lucilius, there is a holy Spirit who sits within us all, the observer and the guardian of all the good and evil we do."

believing that He is the Spirit of Him who is the God of all the families of the earth, must we not say concerning all worth of deed and truth of thought, whenever and wherever displayed: "All these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as He will"? The Spirit is not a Christian monopoly. The term "Spirit of Christ" is not an exhaustive designation of His message and relations, nor is the Church the sole sphere of His operation. He works most mightily with the Christian revelation and within the Christian society, but He is not confined to them. He never has been confined to them. He is the universal Spirit of a universal God. To shut oneself up, therefore, within the mere letter of New Testament conceptions, as those do, Anglicans or Romanists, who hold an exclusive doctrine of the Church, to treat the part as if it were the whole, though not viewing it critically and historically, and, in consequence, to think of the Holy Spirit as confined, first, to Christ, and, then, through Him to the Church which owns Him as Lord, or even to a special community of Christians which for some reason is regarded as alone the Church of Christ,1 is to turn truth itself into falsehood, to deny in thought the very Spirit whose possession is claimed in word, and to foster a narrow intolerance which is in Christendom to-day the crying sin against the Holy Ghost.

This was done, e.g., in a notorious Anglican manual (called A Book for the Children of God, and edited by a Ritualistic clergyman named Gacc), which said, "The Catholic Church is the home of the Holy Ghost; it is His only earthly home. He does not make His home in any dissenting sect. Sometimes people quarrel with the Church, and break away from her, and make little sham churches of their own. We call these people Dissenters and their sham churches sects. The Holy Ghost does not abide or dwell with them. He goes and visits them, perhaps, but only as a stranger." Such teaching awakens in sincere Nonconformists, not anger, but distress and pity.

CHAPTER X

The Spirit and the Christian Life

For the world the ultimate and most important product of the Christian faith was, and is, the Christian life. Into that first century of our era when conduct had become largely formal, as in Judaism, or corrupt, as in paganism, Christianity brought the reviving breach of new ideals and inspirations. Hence, whilst the truth which came through Christ is not overlooked, the emphasis of the New Testament, as attested by its terminology, is on the "life," the spiritual quickening, the new power of moral achievement, of which men became conscious through the Gospel. It is this fact which makes "life" one of the great words of the New Testament vocabulary. Upon the characteristics of Christian life, as it was expressed in the first centuryits lofty idealism, its intense emotionalism, its vivid sense of power translating itself frequently into surprising moral attainment—it is not necessary to dwell, for they are plain to anyone who reads with open eyes the Christian literature of that time. Our immediate concern is with the part which is assigned to the Holy Spirit in connexion with this new life. That His function in relation to it was of first importance is suggested by the fact that Christian life is described as identical with "life in the Spirit." In that latter phrase the preposition has more than a local sense. It bears the comprehensive meaning which attaches to it in that parallel expression by which Mark 1 describes a demoniac as, literally, "a man in an unclean spirit"; it indicates not simply existence in the sphere, but subjection to the control, of the power, holy or malign, with which human life is thus associated. Hence the Christian life is viewed as one which in all its manifestations is shaped and regulated by the Spirit of God. He it is who is concerned with its initiation, for to become a Christian is to receive the Spirit.2 The subsequent effort to express Christian ideals in conduct and nature is to "walk by," or "after 4 the Spirit," a necessary corollary of this conception being that all Christian graces are the fruit of the Spirit who dwells 5 in Christians as if, so to speak, they were a temple. It is to Paul, as we have seen, that we owe the association of the Spirit in such a way with the every-day virtues of a holy life as to make them His choicest fruit and the supreme evidence of His operation within the soul; but the ethical enthusiasm which breathes throughout the New Testament, constituted the Apostle's pronouncement, when once made, convincing and final.7 Thenceforth it was felt that the chief work of the Spirit, holy Himself, was to make man holy too; the truest Christian evidence was a Christian life.

One feature of this life which impressed those who experienced it was its newness. It is difficult not to detect in the New Testament language concerning it the note of amazement. Christian experience had in it the element of gracious surprise. What Ian Maclaren once called the "aboveness" of it is to Paul one of its

¹ i. 23. The preposition is $\epsilon \nu$.

² Gal. iii. 2. 4 Rom. viii. 4.

³ Gal. v. 16.

^{6 1} Cor. iii. 16; Eph. ii. 22.

⁵ Gal. v. 22. ⁷ Though there was a reaction in the sub-Apostolic age. See p. 354.

most moving features. Nor is it simply in the realm of its ideals, in the as yet unrealised possibilities of the Christian life, that this transcendent element appears. That Christians in the first century were alive to these ideals, and found therein occasion for adoring wonder as well as inspiration for immediate endeavour, is evidenced again and again. "It is not yet made manifest what we shall be," ' " we rejoice in hope of the glory of God," 2 "the unsearchable riches of Christ," 3 "that ye may know what is the hope of His calling, what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints, and what the exceeding greatness of His power to us-ward who believe," 4" that ye . . . may be strong . . . to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God "5-such are a few phrases out of many that might be cited which set forth in the language of New Testament saints the wealth and glory of the Christian hope. But the realisations of Christian experience were scarcely less fascinating than its prospects; indeed, it was the wonder of the grace wherein men already stood,6 the fact of sonship to God already realised,7 which made the greater things of the future so sure. We are in no position to understand with any approach to intelligence the language of the New Testament until we have steeped ourselves in the experience of those early days. For, read in the light of the impulse which gave it birth, the New Testament is the record of a great religious experience. Men felt that in Christ everything had become new. "Passed out of death into life," 8 "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," " " heirs of

¹ I John iii. 2. ⁴ Eph. i. 18, 19.

² Rom. v. 2.

³ Eph. iii. 8.

⁴ ⁷ I John iii. 1, 2.

⁵ Eph. iii. 17-19.

⁶ Rom. v. 2.

⁸ I John iii. 14.

⁹ Eph. ii. 19.

God, and joint-heirs with Christ," 1 "Who called you out of darkness into His marvellous light," 2 "And such " (i.e., fornicators, adulterers, thieves, drunkards, revilers, &c.) "were some of you; but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God," 3 "If any man is in Christ, there is a new creation: the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new"4—these are a few of the expressions by which the New Testament, in language which we often feel is straining beneath the pressure of the thought with which it is burdened, sets forth the riches and wonder of the inheritance already realised by Christians in Christ. We have no need to exaggerate the virtues of New Testament saints. There were spots in their fellowship and blots in their conduct, and the language of their leaders to them had often to be that of exhortation or reproof. But when all due allowance has been made for their defects, there remains in the Christians of those early days a gracious flowering forth of noble virtues which is simply marvellous when put, as for its due appreciation it should be, in the setting of the tragically dark and polluted past out of which in so many cases it sprang.

It is the vividness of this contrast which causes emphasis to be so frequently laid in the New Testament upon the newness of the Christian experience. To those first Christians it represented a new world of ideals, motives, inspirations and achievements. So alien did it seem in spirit and temper to that ordinary world in which Christians still had their home, so few were the points of affinity between the two, that it

¹ Rom. viii. 17.

³ T Cor. vi. II.

² 1 Peter ii. 9.

^{4 2} Cor. v. 17.

became easy for converts to conceive of their new experience as their mystical transference to another and super-sensible world of whose powers they had tasted,1 and in which they, already seated together with Christ in the heavenly places,2 had their true citizenship.3 Ideally the Christian already belonged to the heavenly sphere, for his life was "hid with Christ in God." 4 with whose death, mystically re-enacted in himself, he had died to sin, just as in Christ's resurrection the Christian had also risen, and was walking "in newness of life." 5 The contrast thus expressed was sharpened in its conception by the suddenness which often attended the change to Christian faith and life. Conversion frequently had in it the element of crisis; it was by a process dramatic and marked in its climax by definite and remembered features that a man passed over into Christian discipleship. On these grounds it became easy to think of the new life as supernaturally produced. The Christian was God's workmanship,6 a new creation,7 a man (to use Johannine phraseology) "begotten of God." 8 Conversion was the putting away of "the old man" and the putting on of "the new man which after God hath been created in righteousness and holiness of the truth." 9 In another striking metaphor the Apostle Paul describes himsef as having been "apprehended," 10 gripped, laid hold of "by Christ Jesus." The teaching running through all these figures is that Christian life is not the outcome simply of the forces which are resident within us. The Christian is a supernatural product; he is not a human evolution,

¹ Heb. vi. 5.

³ Phil. iii. 20.

⁵ Rom. vi. 1-11.

⁷ 2 Cor. v. 17.

⁹ Eph. iv. 22-24.

² Eph. ii. 6.

⁴ Col. iii. 3.

⁶ Eph. ii. 10.

⁸ I John iv. 7, v. 18.

¹⁰ Phil. iii. 12.

but a Divine creation; the springs of his new life are in God.

It is in the teaching of the Fourth Gospel that we find the origin of Christian life definitely ascribed to the Holy Spirit. In the conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus the entrance of a man into "the kingdom of God," the new and divine order which Christ has come to inaugurate, is the result of a "new" birth or a birth "from above," mediated by "water" and "the Spirit." If this language, as many scholars are convinced, reflects the usage of the Church, and the term "water" refers to Baptism, which was in the early days of the Church the rite by which men were formally admitted into her fellowship, then we are taught by the treble reference to birth "of the Spirit" that the rite only acquires validity as a real initiation, in so far as those who submit to it receive also, as the product in them of the Spirit of God, the changed nature which alone constitutes a man in fact, as distinct from name, a member of God's new Israel. The precise nature of that inner change which is described as "the new birth" hardly comes within the scope of our discussion. It is the inward side of conversion that is there in question—not the changed life, but the changed nature of which that new life is the manifestation. So far as that transformation of the personality is concerned, we have to beware of interpreting terms which were popular in their meaning as if they were used with a scientific exactness. The Bible sometimes speaks of the change which attends conversion in terms of substitution, a heart of flesh, e.g., being described as taking the place of a heart of stone,2 So also the figure of "the new birth" has suggested to some interpreters

¹ John iii. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.

² Ezek, xxxvi, 26.

that it is a change in soul-substance, so to speakwhatever that may mean-which takes place at conversion, and that it is a nature new, because divine in its essence, which is then bestowed. But Biblical language is popular rather than scientific, and the terminology referred to springs out of a sense of the tremendous moral transformation which conversion often implies, the outward change being sometimes so startling and abrupt that it almost seems as though within the man another being has replaced the one previously there. It is not thus, however, that modern psychology defines conversion. Finding analogies in other fields of human experience it shows that conversion is the re-organisation of our inner life of thought, feeling and will round a new centre, its compounding into a new whole as the result of the impact upon it, with peculiar and sustained power, of some thought or emotion, which brings it under the sway of new ideals, and transforms a man's characteristic ways of thinking and acting.1 But even when conversion has thus been described, it has not been explained. To describe it is one thing, to account for it is another. Like all life it has its roots in mystery, and the most satisfying explanation of it is that it is due to the movement of the Spirit of God upon the spirit of man. We are born again as we are born from above. The path into Christ's kingdom is always one along which man is met and dealt with by the Holy Spirit.

One of the most fascinating things about recent psychology is that we are beginning to see not only how the Spirit finds access to us, but how even the abrupt and dramatic element which often appears in conversion may be accounted for. There are unplumbed

¹ See James' Varieties of Religious Experience, Lectures viii.-x.

depths in man. Our conscious life is not our whole life. We are constautly receiving more than consciousness takes note of, and in some large chamber of our spirit sub-conscious experiences are being stored up, ready in due time to enter, often in a sudden and dramatic way, and play some part in, our waking and conscious life. Moreover, our inner life, in both its conscious and sub-conscious realms, is open to the movement of the Spirit of God. At every avenue of our being He, like the circumambient air, presses in upon us, putting Himself behind all the good that is in us, and seeking to lift it to power and victory. The parallel which some thinkers have drawn between the cure of drunkenness by hypnotic suggestion or bodily healing in response to faith on the one hand, and the operation of the Holy Spirit in conversion on the other, need not alarm us, as if some new mode of conversion was thereby disclosed which might supersede spiritual agencies. Is not the resemblance hinted at somewhat to be expected if there be any real kinship between man and God? We need not be concerned to deny that a doctor, e.g., by the impact of his personality upon the will and thought of his patient, may succeed in curing him of the craving for drink. But if a human personality, limited in its potency, can thus avail, how much more must become possible when a man is caught up into the rush of the Divine will, and his nature is swept along by the current of the Spirit of God? Surely that is a brimming tide which can bear every stranded barque out into its destined sea! To a faith which gives God freedom to achieve His will, all things are possible. The hope of the world, therefore, lies just in this—that the Holy Spirit is at work in it, brooding over man's inner life, moving him to repentance by ideas and in-

fluences of which he is conscious, and especially by the vivid presentation to him of God's love in Christ, but understanding also and using the sub-conscious elements within him, and by every means leading him into that new life which naturally follows birth of the Spirit.

So far as St. Paul's thought is concerned, the association of the Holy Spirit with Christian experience is bound up with his famous antithesis of flesh and spirit. The 8th chapter of Romans is the locus classicus for the Apostle's doctrine.1 There we have a series of contrasts, e.g., "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" and "the law of sin and death," "the mind of the flesh" and "the mind of the Spirit," being "in" or walking "after the flesh," and being "in" or walking "after the Spirit." 2 Elsewhere, too, the term "pneumatic" or "spiritual" is contrasted with "fleshly" or "carnal" on the one hand, and "psychic" or "natural" on the other.3 These distinctions impinge on the large and difficult question of the Biblical psychology.4 We save ourselves much needless perplexity if we grasp the idea that the Bible terms "spirit," "soul," "flesh" (with their corresponding adjectives), not only are not used with a scientific precision, but represent not so much departments of human nature as principles that operate therein. The term "flesh," e.g., undoubtedly refers in a few passages to the bodily organism. Thus when Jesus is spoken of as being "of the seed of David according to the flesh"5

² Rom. viii. 2, 4, 6, 9.

³ Rom. vii. 14; 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15, xv. 44-46.

¹ Though Gal. v. 16-25 is almost as important.

⁴ For an excellent discussion of the subject, as it relates to the present problem, see Prof. H. W. Robinson's "Hebrew Psychology in Relation to Pauline Anthropology," in *Mansfield College Essays*, pp. 265-286

⁵ Rom. i. 3.

or of being "manifested in the flesh," it is physical descent or bodily form that is denoted, the reference as regards circumcision "in the flesh" being similarly limited. But, as a general rule, "flesh" in Pauline thought stands for the active principle of sin in human nature, or for the sphere in which that principle is entrenched.3 The notion of weakness which belongs to "flesh," as the Old Testament conceived it, made the "flesh" the easy prey of sin which, viewed as an external and malignant power, uses this acquired territory as its head-quarters, and from it wages war against the inner man, employing the very members of man's body as weapons to procure his undoing.4 Hence, whether Paul uses the simple term "flesh" or the fuller phrase "flesh of sin," indicating the "flesh" as allied with sin, what he means far transcends any physical reference, and can only contemplate human nature as a whole viewed as in active opposition to God and righteousness. The ": flesh" is as nearly as possible identical with what we sometimes call man's "lower nature." For sin, established in the "flesh," controls the whole man, and hence there can be such a thing as "the mind of the flesh," 5 i.e., the thoughts viewed as determined by the influence of the baser self, and there can be included among "the works of the flesh" sins which are other than physical in their kind.6

Now "flesh" with this ethical interpretation-and only in this sense does it immediately concern us-has

¹ I Tim. iii, 16.

² Rom. ii. 28.

³ For other and minor meanings see Prof. Robinson's Essay, p. 283.

⁴ Rom. vii. ²3. ⁵ Col. ii. ¹9. "Paul conceives the fleshly opposition to the Spirit to extend through the whole man, unless resisted" (Prof. Robinson).

⁶ Only five of "the works of the flesh" named in Gal. v. 19-21 spring from fleshly appetites.

its true antithesis in "spirit." It is quite true that there is an intermediate term with several shades of meaning, one translation adopted for it being "soul," whilst the adjective (literally "psychic") is given "natural" as its rendering. The noun practically corresponds to the Hebrew word nephesh, which at first described simply the breath-soul, the animating principle of life which, associating itself with the physical organism, constituted man a living being. Gradually it enlarged its connotation so as to include the various modes in which man's being expressed itself, notably the activity of consciousness and the inner life of feeling.1 In a sense, therefore, psuchē, the Greek word which took over this developed meaning of nephesh, moves in a non-ethical realm; it simply describes that ruling element in man which makes him to be what, viewed as a product of nature, he actually is. Hence the "psychical" man is man left purely within the domain of nature, man without that effectual operation upon him of the Spirit of God which makes him a "pneumatic" or "spiritual" man, just as the "natural body" of I Cor. xv. 44 is the bodily organism viewed as possessing simply its ordinary qualities, and so lacking that operation of the Holy Spirit which would fashion it after the type of the risen body of Christ. For the same reason Paul can speak of "the natural man" as not receiving "the things of the Spirit of God," 2 for there again, though he has in mind the "wise after the flesh," the men of culture, and intellectual refinement, he feels that their qualities and attainment fall within the range of what man himself can achieve.

¹ For a fuller statement, with illustrations, see Prof. Robinson's Essay, p. 270 f.

² I Cor. i 26, ii. 13, 14.

But the pneuma or "spirit" represents something higher. It takes over the meaning of the Hebrew word ruah, which in Old Testament usage preserved a certain distinction from nephesh and, as an element in man, expressed his personality on its more energetic and abnormal side, especially that on which it was open to the action of the Spirit of God. 1 As the work of the Holy Spirit took on more and more an ethical quality, there was a corresponding deepening in the conception of the human "spirit," with the result that the term came in Pauline thought to stand for man's moral and spiritual nature. There is extreme difficulty sometimes, as we read the Pauline Epistles, in deciding whether the term pneuma, as it appears in certain passages, means the human "spirit" or the Spirit of God. There are, indeed, critics who have contended that the latter is always its meaning, their claim being that, apart from the indwelling of the Spirit of God, man has no "spirit" at all. But this position cannot be sustained. Not only was there a "spirit" so peculiarly the property of man that it could be defined by the terms "my," "thy," "your," but Christians could be exhorted to cleanse themselves "from all defilement of the flesh and spirit," 3 and could be assured that "the Spirit Himself bears witness along with our spirit that we are the children of God." 4 Such passages, though others might also be quoted,5 are final. But, all the same, the human "spirit" represents at its best a possibility rather than a power. In itself it is in-

¹ For a more detailed statement, with references, see Prof. Robinson's Essay, pp. 271-3.

² I Cor. v. 4; 2 Cor. vii. 13; I Thess. v. 23; Philem. 25.

³ 2 Cor. vii. 1. ⁴ Rom. viii. 10. ⁵ There are sixteen passages in which "spirit" seems clearly to denote a normal element in human nature.

capable of coming to due supremacy, for the "flesh," made all the mightier by the lofty demands of the Law, tyrannises over the spirit and keeps it in bondage. Its only hope of mastery lies in its reinforcement, and therein, to Paul, consists the work of the Holy Spirit. What the Law could not do, in that it was weak as compared with the "flesh," Christ has done, in that by His death He has passed sentence on the sinful principle which has entrenched itself in man.1 That condemnation becomes a realised experience to all who by faith mystically unite themselves with Christ, for not only is that symbolic aspect of His death re-enacted in them, but they share also in the victorious powers of His risen life, inasmuch as the Spirit which raised Him from the dead is given to them and dwells in them, so toning up and energising their "spirit" that it becomes the regnant element in their nature and life. making them, because of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, to be no longer "in the flesh but in the Spirit." 2 "spiritual" men in whom the "spirit" has come to its rightful place and power.

Such is, in Paul's doctrine, the relation of the Holy Spirit to Christian experience. It is clear that to some extent the presentation moves in the realm of the ideal; it depicts a goal to which the Christian is being conducted rather than something achieved once for all at a bound. Just as the mystical dying with Christ has to be continually repeated, so that it represents a habit as well as an act, and Christians can be exhorted to keep reckoning themselves "dead unto sin but alive unto God." so also Christians can be described as

¹ Rom. viii. 3. ² Rom. viii. 9.

³ Rom. vi. 11. The tense of the Imperative in the original is Present, not Aorist.

"fleshly" or "carnal," as the Corinthians are when Paul says: "Whereas there is among you jealousy and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk after the manner of men?" 1 The truth is that the Spirit's presence in the soul constituted, though vital to progress, "a hope not a realisation; a tendency, not a result; a life in process, not a ripened fruit." Hence the Apostle has to say, "If we live by the Spirit," i.e., if the Spirit has become our life-principle, "by the Spirit let us also habitually walk." It was by no magic that sinners were transformed into saints. Justification had to authenticate itself by issuing in sanctification, the actual hallowing and perfecting in holy love of the nature on which the seal of justification had been set. Less than that ethical result the Holy Spirit within us cannot contemplate if He be indeed the Spirit of God. In the great act of justification God may consent, on the ground of their faith, to treat men who are sinners as if they were not so, but since God cares profoundly for reality, that attitude can only mean that, to use Augustine's fine phrase, God looks at us, "not as we are, but as we are becoming." 4 In our faith, that definite and sustained committal of ourselves to all that in character and conduct is involved for us in the will of God-for the faith which saves has to be a habit as well as an act -there reposes the human condition of the continuous presence and operation within us of the Holy Spirit, through whom moral progress becomes not only possible but certain. For sanctification, therefore, as well as for justification, the two factors are faith and the Spirit.5

¹ I Cor. iii. 1-3.

Gore, Lux Mundi (15th Ed.), p. 242.

³ Gal. v. 25. Habitual action is the force of the Present tense in the original.

⁵ Both are found in Gal. v. 5. 4 Augustine, de Trin., I. 10, 21.

The Christian who continuously exhibits the one and possesses the other may be sure that the new life within him will blossom forth increasingly into all loveliness of disposition and thought and deed, and the actual draw nearer to the ideal.

The confidence with which the entire perfecting of the Christian believer is in St. Paul's teaching cast upon the Holy Spirit appears in two ideas which are frequently associated with His operation. Of these one is "power," the other is "life." In them we have practically two sides of one idea, Christian experience being interpreted in the one case in terms of its cause. and in the other in those of its effects. The notion of power in active exercise, which was an integral feature of the Old Testament doctrine of the Spirit, was taken up into the New Testament conception. The promise concerning the Pentecostal experience, "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Spirit is come upon you," 1 was verified again and again. Not only does "power" attach to the proclamation of the Christian message. so that the Gospel can be described as coming to a church "not in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Spirit," 2 or as being "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power," 3 but it belongs also to the formation of Christian character either as regards specific virtues therein, just as abounding in hope is looked for "in the power of the Holy Spirit," 4 or Christian attainment as a whole, which is to be expected through the believer being "strengthened with power through His " (i.e., God's) "Spirit in the inward man." 5 Even more striking, if that be possible, than the noun which appears in the foregoing phrases is a verb similarly

¹ Acts i. 8.

² I Thess. i. 5.

³ I Cor. ii. 4.

⁴ Rom. xv. 13.

⁵ Eph. iii. 16.

employed (together with the noun corresponding to it which we have turned into an English dress in our word "energy"), which is all too feebly rendered by our term "work," since it denotes the efficacious exercise of power. It is the Divine Energy actively employed which is in view in such passages as, "All these worketh one and the same Spirit," 2" It is God that worketh in you both to will and to work," 3 "According to His working which worketh in me mightily." 4 The boundlessness of moral progress is, therefore, merely an inference from the magnitude of that Divine Energy which has begun to operate within the Christian,5 and hence St. Paul, after one of even his most rapturous forecasts of spiritual attainment, passes on to a doxology "unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us." 6 Well might the Holy Spirit given to the Christian be described, in view of all the radiant possibilities of His indwelling, as not "a Spirit of fearfulness, but of power." More-over, the product of His indwelling is "life," one of the profoundest of New Testament terms in that, whilst ethically it implies the soul dwelling in joyous and harmonious fellowship with the living God, it involves dynamically the sense of moral vigour, of competence to achieve all that is assumed in the Christian

¹ See the extended note on ἐνεργεῖν and ἐνέργεια in Dean Robinson's. St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 241 ff.
³ Phil. ii. 14.

² I Cor. xii. II. ⁴ Col. i. 29.

⁵ Wesley has given stirring expression to this in the lines:—

[&]quot;Give me Thy strength, O God of power, Then let winds blow, or thunders roar, Thy faithful witness will I be;

^{&#}x27;Tis fixed—I can do all through Thee.''

Eph. iii. 20.

7 2 Tim. i. 7.

ideal.¹ Very significantly, therefore, is "the last Adam" spoken of as "a life-giving Spirit,"² whilst the Spirit mediated by Him "is life,"³ or "giveth life,"⁴ and sowing "to the Spirit" has for its harvest "eternal \ life."⁵

The consideration which gives all these presentations such enormous value for us is that they are not with St. Paul the product of abstract reflection, but inferences from a living experience. In our amazement at the range and virility of the Apostle's thought we are apt to forget that he who was great as a theologian was even greater as a Christian. Paul knew that Christ had done great things for him, transforming his ideals, purifying his motives, and bringing an entire world of moral achievement within his reach. The man who could say, "Wherefore I take pleasure in weaknesses, in injuries, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake," 6 "I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me," 7 or who, in summing up in a single sentence the final explanation of all that he was and did, could say, "To me to live is-Christ," 8 as if that one term accounted for ideals, achievements, inspirations—everything, in a word, that had woven itself into the fabric of his life and experience, was a man who, in view also of the facts of his noble career, had superlative right to pronounce upon the nature and forces of the Christian's inner life. Now to the Apostle all Christian life was transacted in the domain of the Spirit. It is the Spirit who, at the dawn of the life of sonship, supplies inward testimony to its

¹ For a fuller discussion of the term "life," see St. John and other N.T. Teachers, p. 57 f.

² I Cor. xv. 45.

³ Rom. viii. 10.

^{4 2} Cor. iii. 6.

⁵ Gal. vi. 8.

⁶ 2 Cor. xii. 10.

⁷ Phil. iv. 13.

⁸ Phil. i. 21.

reality 1—an element in the Apostolic teaching upon which Methodism has set due emphasis by its doctrine of Assurance, the re-affirmation of which has been described as "the fundamental contribution of Methodism to the life and thought of the Church." 2 And that which begins with the Spirit develops under the same gracious dynamic. It is the Holy Spirit within the soul, or Christ dwelling in the heart by faith—the terms in New Testament thought are, as we have seen, interchangeable-who is made unto men "wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, 'and redemption," 3 and is also "the hope of glory." 4 All virtues have their spring in that central source. Hope 5 and comfort 6 take their rise thence; "the kingdom of God "viewed in its fundamental qualities is "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit "7; "the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering," and all the other graces that adorn a holy life.8 Even prayer and praise attain their true perfection only as they are transacted "in the Spirit." There the Apostle's thought goes down to the depths, for he includes more than the ordinary and coherent expression before God of such desires and feelings as have emerged into clearness of comprehension through the illumination of the Spirit. Paul knew that, in addition, there were unfathomed depths in man, and that we have at times

¹ Rom. viii. 16.

² The Rev. H. B. Workman (A New History of Methodism, Vol. I. p. 19 ff.) shows that previously the doctrine had been denied, e.g., by Rome, or left conjectural, e.g., by Calvinism, and that in Luther and Anglicanism it was obscured, with the result that it was looked upon, when taught by Wesley, as the formulation of a new heresy. 4 Col. i. 27.

³ I Cor. i 30.

⁵ Rom. xv. 13.

⁷ Rom. xiv. 17.

⁹ Eph. vi. 18.

⁶ Acts ix. 31 8 Gal. v. 22.

feelings and yearnings so vast and mysterious that thought can give them no definite form nor words any articulate expression. But in that obscure realm, deep down in human personality, from which they come, the Spirit moves with perfect familiarity, and He, sympathising with those mysterious longings for which we can find no language but a sigh or a groan, and aiding our infirmities of comprehension and expression, associates Himself with our inarticulate groanings, and gives them definite meaning before God, since "He that searcheth the heart knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit." Thus is the Holy Spirit linked with all the movement and progress of the Christian's inner life.

But this very study of origins in which we have been engaged sheds some light also upon the quality of the products. Since the work of the Spirit upon us is in its final analysis ethical, and since, as He comes to us, He is the Spirit of God's Son or the Spirit of Christ, i.e., it is with the facts and ideals of the Christian revelation that He operates, it is but natural that the experience which He produces should be after the distinctly Christian type. And this is indeed the case. For the Spirit which God has sent into our hearts is the Spirit, not of bondage, but of sonship; it is the Spirit which, as we think of God, causes us to break out into the joyful cry, "Abba, Father." As many as are led by that Spirit are sons of God.2 It may seem as though Paul, by using the term "adoption," gives to the believer's sonship a fictitious quality which is absent from the simpler presentation of Jesus, but when we see that even with Jesus sonship is construed ethically, i.e., it implies the exhibition of the filial spirit.

¹ Rom. viii. 26, 27.

and when we note also that behind "adoption" there is with Paul not a mere status, but a sonship which is ethically real, the difference between the Master and the disciple is in nothing more than words. When Jesus declared that the central and essential element in God's Fatherhood was His unbounded and disinterested love, and then added to His disciples, "Ye, therefore, shall be perfect," i.e., as the context demands, perfect in love, "as your heavenly Father is perfect," He defined for all time the filial spirit. It consists in exhibiting as a son the perfect love which is seen in God. But for Paul also, as for Christ, love is the fulfilling of the law, and to walk in the Spirit is to walk in love, that grace whose praises as the flower and sum of Christian virtue the Apostle has enshrined in an immortal chapter.2 It is but putting the same obligation in another form to say that God's purpose for us is that we should "be conformed to the image of His Son." 3 Since in Christ the filial nature has come to perfect expression, He is the ethical type after which the whole of God's family must be shaped, and the Spirit's work within us can have no higher, no, nor meaner, goal for us than this-that we should all attain "unto a fullgrown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." 4 The model after which the unseen Artist within is seeking to fashion us is the perfect Son of God.

But that fact says something for the Christian life on the side of privilege as well as on that of obligation, for it is in the temper of his service that the son is distinguished from the slave. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," ⁵ is one of Paul's great watch-

¹ Matt. v. 43-48.

² I Cor. xiii.

⁸ Rom. viii. 29.

⁴ Eph. iv. 13.

⁵ 2 Cor. iii. 17.

words, even as the notion of freedom in Christ is one of the ruling ideas of his Gospel. Not bond-servants but sons, not slaves in the household but children round the family hearth, not under law but under gracein these contrasts is reflected the changed temper with which the Christian is inspired to do the will of God. They may imply something also as to the content of Christian obligation, for there are those who have seen in the Apostle's assertion of spiritual freedom a belief that the Christian, yielding himself up to the Spirit of God, becomes thereby emancipated from all external statutes and conventions, so that his duty, no longer derived from them, is prescribed wholly by the indwelling Spirit.1 The moral consciousness of Jesus repeating itself, so to speak, in His followers was expected to reproduce in them the moral originality of Jesus. It may seem as though to make the norm of Christian duty subjective and inward is the very apotheosis of individualism, and with natures imperfectly yielded to the Holy Spirit leaves the door open for divergent moral standards, liberty becoming thus a cloke for licence. But though Paul saw this peril and warned Christians against it,2 his own sense of the clearness and fulness of the Spirit's operation within himself doubtless made Him feel that with the sincere Christian it was a risk which could safely be run. Moreover, since the inward Instructor was conceived as the Spirit of Christ, and so worked with ideals which were derived primarily from the life and teaching of Jesus, the contact with history which was thus ensured served as a check upon individual extravagance, and kept the

² E.g., in Gal. v. 13.

¹ Luther expressed it, "Love, and do as you like," the freedom that is regulated by love not being an "unchartered freedom."

working of the Christian consciousness within certain definite lines. But whatever the indwelling of the Spirit thus meant as to the content of Christian obligation, it implied still more as to the temper in which it was discharged. It may seem strange that the Apostle who lays such emphasis on the liberty bestowed by the Spirit should delight to confess himself the "bondservant of Jesus Christ," 1 and even glory in " the brand-marks" which declared him to be the property of the Lord Jesus.² Yet it is but the same paradox which meets us in the allied phrases, "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," 3 and "the perfect law of liberty," 4 by which Paul and James respectively describe the norm of Christian duty; and all that is meant is that Christ's service, whilst bondage, is also perfect freedom. For, with all the increased amplitude that Christ has given to moral obligation, more wonderful far is the spirit of love in which men have been taught to fulfil it. Liberty is in the last analysis power to become our true selves, and this we find in Christ. When the moral ideal becomes embodied in a Person of such transcendent loveliness that a man, contemplating it, feels all self-will die down, and is fused by the glow of Divine love into such union with the object of his devotion that the only explanation of His entire attitude to life is, "I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me," 5 religious enthusiasm in such a case has made even law to be the sphere of freedom, since duty is no longer done from the constraints of an external commandment, but from the cheerful and spontaneous impulse of an inward spirit. It is through the new motives and inspiration supplied

¹ Rom, i. I.

² Gal. vi. 17.

³ Rom. viii. 2.

⁴ James i. 25, ii. 12.

⁵ Gal. ii. 20.

by the Spirit that the service of God becomes no longer the task-work of a slave, but the love-offering of a son.

But if Christian experience has thus such great realisations in the present, its hopes for the future are greater still. For to be sons of God means also that we are His heirs, yea, joint-heirs even with Christ Himself.1 And so Paul's thought kindles to rapture as over against the light afflictions of the moment he puts "the eternal weight of glory," or "the glory which shall be revealed to us-ward," with which present sufferings, however grievous, are utterly unworthy to be compared.2 The glory" of which he is thinking is the life of the Christian in the future and perfected kingdom of God. It is the same concept to which he also alludes as "eternal life," a phrase which had hallowed associations in that it had appeared in the language of Jesus Himself. But whereas in the Synoptic Gospels "eternal life" is something that has yet to be inherited or entered into, i.e., belongs in its realisation to the future, in St. Paul's teaching, while future in its full bestowal, it is also present to the extent that the Christian already possesses the title-deeds which guarantee to him its ultimate possession. It is quite true that the epithet "eternal" had as its essential connotation a certain quality of life, and hence, in the more developed teaching of the Johannine writings, the Christian can be described as possessing "eternal life" even now; 3 but all the more because of its superlative ethical quality the notion of enduringness also attached to it, so that "eternal life" is practically the enjoyment of continuous life

¹ Rom. viii. 17. ² 2 Cor. iv. 17, Rom. viii. 18.

³ John vi. 54, xvii. 3; I John v. II, I2. The synoptic view, however, is present as well, e.g., in John iv. I4, 36. For a fuller discussion of the problem see St. John and other N.T. Teachers, p. 64 f.

in perfect fellowship with God. To St. Paul the hope of such bliss was beyond the power of death to frustrate. "Nothing," he exclaims in ringing exultation, including even "death" among the malign powers that there find themselves baffled, "shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." 1 The Almighty Love, as it falls upon us, becomes "a Love that will not let us go." Taken up into the Divine heart we have, in virtue of that experience, become partakers also of the Divine life. "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." 2 If God be indeed the Father of infinite love revealed to us by Christ, He, living Himself, must have living children, and the bond that binds them to God must be strong enough to bring their personality unscathed through all the vicissitudes of both life and death.

And that which seals this "immortal love" to us is the presence within us of the Spirit. "Hereby know we that we abide in Him, and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit." Possessing that gift the Christian already tastes "powers of the coming age," and has a realised kinship with God which is the surest pledge of immortality. St. Paul, therefore, dares to speak of the Spirit already dwelling in the believer's heart as, like the sheaf of corn which was presented at the Passover, "the firstfruits" of a larger harvest, or to describe it, when writing to communities which were mercantile in their interests, as "the earnest," i.e., the deposit or first instalment which was

¹ Rom. viii. 38, 39.

² Mark xii. 27.

¹ Rom. viii. 30, 39.

³ 1 John iv. 13.

⁴ Heb. vi. 5.

⁵ See the discussion of this point by Dr. Denney (Factors of Faith in Immortality) in Expositor, Feb. 1911.

Rom. viii. 23. The figure appears also with another application in I Cor. xv. 20.

a legal pledge that the property of which it formed a part should one day be bestowed in full.¹ Already the Christian had the assurance of immortal blessedness, for he that sowed to the Spirit, i.e., regulated his life in harmony with the direction of the Spirit dwelling within him, would reap as the harvest of that sowing "eternal life." ²

But it is in connexion with the destiny of the body that this conception of the Spirit has its most striking application. For Paul, true to the concrete notion current in Judaism, could only conceive of immortality as attaching, if real, to the completeness of man's personality. The Greek notion of man's persistence as disembodied spirit would have seemed to him inadequate. And yet if he could not think of the body as a fetter from which man needed to be set free,3 neither could he regard it as a thing that must be left unchanged. No, his dream was of "the body of our humiliation" being transformed so as to resemble the body of the glorified Christ.4 "We that are in this tabernacle," he says, "do groan, being burdened." 5 In the present state the body, as he viewed it, was unevangelised. Its members were the media of temptation and the instruments of sin. So out of touch was it with the higher life and aspirations of the soul, so completely in thraldom to sin, that Paul even describes it in one vivid phrase as "dead because of sin," 6 Hence it clogs and fetters the soul, it weighs down the spirit. But for it there

¹ ² Cor i. ²², v. ⁵; Eph. i. ¹⁴. The "earnest" was really a partial payment made in advance as a security that the rest would be paid later. The figure would appeal to mercantile communities like Corinth and Ephesus.

² Gal. vi. ⁸.

³ This was the prevalent notion in Greek philosophy.

⁴ Phil. iii. 21. ⁵ 2 Cor. v. 4.

⁶ Rom. viii. 10. The word is not θνητόν, "mortal," i.e., fated to die, but νεκρόν, "a dead thing, a corpse." Some will feel that the Apostle's view does some injustice to the body.

is in store a day of emancipation, for the resurrection, identified as to date with the Return of Christ, is to St. Paul the emancipation of the body from the power that holds it in bondage, its conversion into a fitting and willing ally of the spirit to which it is joined. Therein lies the culmination of God's redemptive purpose. Our sonship remains incomplete until it includes "the emancipation of our body" for which we wait.1 But we shall not wait in vain. That future boon is already guaranteed, for "if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies through His Spirit that dwelleth in you." 2 The power that wrought for the resurrection of Jesus, and made it impossible for Him "to be holden of" death, is pledged also to them who follow Him. The body of the future life will be spiritual," 3 not necessarily in the sense that it will be immaterial in its nature, but in that it will be perfectly adapted to the "spirit" whose obedient instrument it will be, just as the present body, which it will replace, is "psychic" or "natural," not simply because it falls within the domain of the natural, but also because it obeys the control and responds to the needs of that principle of life which we call the psuchē or "soul." Such is the goal to which the Pauline thought advances. And so for spiritual progress in this and all worlds, for the creation within us of a Christian consciousness, for its unfolding into all loveliness of disposition and deed through the discipline of our earthly life, and for the inconceivable glory of our perfecting in the world to come, the whole burden of achievement is laid by the New Testament upon the Holy Spirit.

¹ Rom. viii. 23.

² Rom. viii. 11.

³ I Cor. xv. 44, 46.

CHAPTER XI

The Spirit and New Testament Thought and Literature

If in the sphere of religion the primary work of the Holy Spirit is the impartation of spiritual life, the phase of His ministry next in importance is the stimulus and direction or religious thought. In this there is nothing more than we may legitimately expect, for in His impact upon rational beings like ourselves the Spirit, as we have seen, necessarily works with certain ideas as His instrument. Moreover, the experience which with their aid He creates within us, itself provokes thought as to its causes, nature and issues, man being compelled by the very constitution of his being to attempt such a formulation of these as his reason shall approve. Religion, therefore, springs out of the realisation of certain ideas and facts, and it tends to produce a theology, and in both of these realms of truth, in the creative, as well as the created, notions, we may discern the operation of the Spirit of God. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, we have already seen that the field of revelation is one in which the Holy Spirit is peculiarly active, both in the original perception of truth, and in its communication by the original recipient to others. Moreover, the inspiration of the Old Testament is recognised in the New, not simply by explicit assertion of its existence both in relation to the Book as a whole and to passages quoted therefrom,1 but by the entire attitude of Christ and His followers to the Old Testament and the use they made of it. They nourished their religious life upon the Old Testament, they quote from it in proof of doctrine 2 or rebuke of sin,3 they see in it a sure source of comfort and religious edification 4-attitudes which, in spite of the criticism that in Christ, e.g., mingled with appreciation, show that the Old Testament was regarded by Christians as containing an inspired disclosure of the nature and will of God.

Now it is our faith concerning Christ that in Him a new revelation of God mediated through both act and word was made to the world. If, therefore, there be any truth in that view, we may expect to find the Holy Spirit associated with this new disclosure, even as He had been with that which preceded it. At all events this is the sublime conviction concerning itself which the new faith consistently maintains. Its fundamental message came from One who knew Himself to be in His public ministry peculiarly inspired by God. Moreover, He is described as promising His disciples that, in the unfolding witness to Him and His work which fell to them, they too should receive "power," owing to the descent upon them of the Holy Spirit.5 Most explicit of all are the relations to truth which are assigned to the promised Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel. "He," says Jesus, "shall teach you all things, and shall bring to your remembrance all things that I said unto you." 6 The "all things" of that saying were obviously such spiritual truths as centred in Christ and

^{1 2} Pet. i. 21, Matt. xxii. 43, Acts i. 16, Heb. iii. 7.

⁴ Rom. xv. 4. 3 Acts xiii. 40, 41. 2 Luke xxiv. 27.

Acts i. 8.

⁶ John xiv. 26.

were relevant to the Christian message—a limitation which is made definite in the words, "He shall bear witness of Me," 1" He shall glorify Me; for He shall take of Mine, and shall declare it unto you." 2 In addition to declaring unto the Church "the things that are to come," 3 the Holy Spirit was to supplement, as well as recall, the actual teaching of Jesus, disclosing the "many words" which Jesus during the earthly ministry had been forced to withhold from hearers who, because of spiritual immaturity, were for the moment unable to bear them. Indeed the Paraclete, "the Spirit of truth," as Jesus more than once 4 calls Him, is pictured throughout the discourses of the Upper Room as wholly concerned with intellectual interests, i.e., with the disclosure and enforcement for moral ends of religious truth. Now for the present argument it matters not what view we take as to the historicity of those discourses. If they represent words actually spoken by Jesus, a teaching ministry is in that case assigned to the Spirit, and may confidently be looked for. If, on the other hand, as some scholars think, they reflect a conception held later by the Church, that very conception demands for its explanation such a realised experience of the Spirit in the domain of truth as the words of Christ are, on that view, made to forecast. That the Early Church believed itself to be actually the subject of such an experience is beyond question. Some of the "spiritual gifts" prevalent at Corinth, e.g., "prophesying" "the word of wisdom," "the word of knowledge," 5 moved on the intellectual plane. The Holy Spirit is described as being received "that we might know the things that are freely given

¹ John xv. 26. ² John xvi. 14.

³ John xvi. 12, 13.

⁴ John xiv. 16, xvi. 13.

⁵ I Cor. xii. 8, 10.

to us by God," 1 such things evidently comprising what has previously been called "God's hidden wisdom." 2 The one prophetic book which the New Testament contains, in its opening chapter speaks of its writer as being "in the Spirit," and it is the conviction that the heavenly Christ has charged him with his message which leads the author more than once to bid his readers "hear what the Spirit saith to the churches." 4 But even if we had not such specific sayings as have been cited, the very existence of the Church and the witnessing functions which it assumed are sufficient evidence that the Church conceived of its fundamental convictions as a new disclosure of the mind of God mediated to the world by the Holy Spirit. The Church was the trustee of a Gospel which was supernatural in its source, and came "through revelation of Jesus Christ."

The revelation thus given proceeded in due course. also, as we believe, under the Spirit's guidance, to embody itself in a literature. The new Christian society, not content with using the Scriptures of the Jewish Church, fashioned Scriptures of its own. It is quite true that Jesus wrote nothing Himself, nor, as He left the world, did He command His disciples to write. Their instructions were to preach, to publish the Gospel by word of mouth. The impulse to write came from a variety of causes—from the great widening out of the Church, the need of religious edification, the emergence of error in doctrine or conduct, and, finally, so far as the Gospels are concerned, from a desire to possess in a permanent form the witness to Christ's incarnate life which the Apostles, who were passing away, had given. What must impress us, as we read

¹ r Cor. ii. 12.

³ Rev. i. 10.

² I Cor. ii. 7.

⁴ Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, etc.

the New Testament, is the occasional nature of much of its contents. No audience seems contemplated by the writer beyond that which he is addressing at the moment. Most of the books are communications to individuals or Churches dealing with problems of immediate, but local, urgency; indeed one beautiful little letter, is a plea on behalf of a runaway slave. Moreover, most of these communications, as Deissmann has recently shown,2 are modelled in structure and expression after the popular letter of the period; they do not, except in a few instances,3 imitate the literary epistle of the time. The Greek, also, of the New Testament, instead of being, save with one or two writers, that literary form of Greek which the presumptions of an uniformed criticism regarded as alone, if Greek was used by inspired men, meet to be "the language of the Holy Ghost," 4 has been shown to be in vocabulary and grammar the Greek of the common people, the popular Greek which, the discovered papyri of Egypt being our witness, takes on the same forms in an invitation to dinner, a letter of commendation, a will. or a schoolboy's letter to his father, 5 as appear in the contents of the New Testament. It is noteworthy, too. that inspiration is not always directly claimed by the New Testament writers. The author of the Apocalypse makes that claim for himself,6 and Paul, also, in addition

² Light from the Ancient East, pp. 217-238.

epistles. I John is put in a class by itself.

⁵ Illustrations of this nature are given in Milligan's Greek Papyri.

6 Rev. i. 19, ii. 7.

¹ Ep. Philemon.

³ Deissmann reckons the Epistles of James, Peter and Jude as real

⁴ The Latin apologists were specially forward in maintaining that the New Testament was artistically perfect in its literary form. See Deissmann, op. cit., p. 65.

to believing that the fundamental conceptions of his Gospel came to him from God, doubtless believed also that, in the detailed instruction or correction which he furnished through his letters to local churches, he was expressing "the mind of the Spirit." Not only does he sometimes openly avow such a belief,1 but he is careful to indicate when what he is about to say is a private speculation of his own.2 What is certain, however, is that neither Mark when he wrote a gospel, nor Paul when he dictated an epistle, contemplated the enduring and widespread usefulness of that which they were composing. All the characteristics of the New Testament writings-their style, their problems, their immediate readers—suggest that their authors had not at the moment that sense of the value of their work which it came finally to assume. Yet as to their inspiration there can be no doubt. We may believe that it varies in degree with different books; we may even share the doubts of some scholars as to whether Second Peter and Jude are really entitled to a place in this Divine library at all. But concerning the main contents of the New Testament the verdict of the Christian consciousness is final. For nearly nineteen centuries it has found in them the knowledge of the love of God and the way of salvation. If, therefore, the truest authentication of any inspired Scripture is that it shall be spiritually profitable, i.e., shall attest itself by its service to experience, then for the New Testament in general, as for the Old, we can maintain that that which leads men to God must have come from Him, and that the writers of the newer volume, though unconscious of the largeness of the ministry to which they were set, were the agents of a higher and

¹ I Cor. vii, 10. ² I Cor. vii, 6. ³ 2 Tim. iii. 16.

wiser Will, and subject to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

And that inspiration covered both matter and form. The problem which thus opens out is an exceedingly wide one, but it demands discussion to the extent of enabling us to learn under what laws and to what ends the Spirit wrought, and what were the limitations which the inspired man imposed upon the inspiring Spirit. Our appeal has to be not to any preconceived notion of inspiration, but to what it is actually found to be or to permit in the literature and truths which exhibit it. If we take the minor question of form first, we see that history, epistle, and prophecy in the form of apocalypse. exhaust the literary types which appear in the New Testament. In each of them we find the writer moving with a certain measure of freedom. The history is inspired in a double sense in that it is an inspired record of an inspired Person and life, as in the Gospels, or of an inspired movement, as in the Acts. What impress does the Evangelist leave upon the record which he fashions? How far does his inspiration leave room for the personal equation? On investigation we find that the individual stamp is very clearly defined. The first three Gospels, whilst alike, are yet different. The realism of Mark, the Messianic and Jewish sympathies of Matthew, the universalism of Luke sufficiently distinguish the three Synoptists from each other. What they record was not miraculously communicated to them. Luke confesses to constructing his Gospel by the aid of material which he had derived from sources that he believed to be informed and trustworthy,1 and critical analysis has traced with some success the documents which lie behind the first three Gospels. Written material was no doubt to some extent supplemented or corrected by oral tradition, and this fact may account for some of the discrepancies in detail which the narratives exhibit. But no explanation of the Gospels and their characteristics is complete which does not allow for the temper and aim of the Evangelists themselves. They were not the slaves of their material. They used it with a certain freedom, omitting certain portions, as, e.g., Luke does with those parts of the narrative which, being concerned with Jewish customs and institutions, were likely to be uninteresting or unintelligible to his Gentile readers; altering certain portions, as Matthew does with statements or incidents in his Marcan source which seemed at variance with a due reverence for Christ's person; 1 grouping certain things together, as Mark does,2 on topical rather than chronological grounds so as to bring out a particular fact or situation with greater clearness. What we see in Matthew, too, is an effort by the nature of the narrative itself, as well as by frequent and, in some instances, curious appeals to the Old Testament,3 to exhibit Jesus as the fulfilment of the hopes of the Jewish race. But what this means is that each Evangelist wrote with a certain aim. The Gospels are not mere chronicles, but tracts. Their authors are interested not simply in the facts of Christ's career, but in the convictions

² We have in Mark ii.-iii. a group of incidents drawn from various periods of Christ's ministry illustrating the growth of opposition to Him, and in Mark iv. a group of parables.

¹ Cp. Matt. xix. 17 with Mark x. 18. Matthew also omits passages in Mark where Jesus exhibits human emotion, or asks questions, or suffers from inability, or has a desire which is not fulfilled. See the list in Allen's Gospel according to St. Matthew (Inter. Crit. Comm.), pp. xxxi.-ii. Matthew also exhibits freedom in the linking of events. Cp. Matt. xiv. 12-14 with Mark vi. 29-31.

³ This has already been illustrated (p. 65).

which, as they feel, ought to be held about it, and they write, therefore, with the distinct aim of enabling their readers to see in Jesus that which they saw themselves. The portrait of Him which they endeavour to produce is not one which has the mechanical fidelity of a photograph, but is rather like the picture which some great artist would seek to paint who, disdaining petty exactness in unimportant details, tries to make the face and pose a revelation of the soul of his subject. The Evangelists were artists, not photographers; it is the soul of Christ, or, more particularly, that phase of it with which each writer had the warmest sympathy, that they seek to depict. And the fact and measure of their inspiration must be seen in the degree to which the material at their disposal has been made to yield convincingly the presentation which they desired. inspiration of the Evangelists meant, not the suppression of their natural affinities and characteristics, but their direction and intensification.

Similarly in the Acts we have a narrative which is selective because Luke's aim is not so much to write a complete history of the first forty years of the Church, as to show by a typical series of events how the Church was led, first, to understand her message and her mission, and, then, to vindicate the truth of her self-estimate by translating it into historic achievement. That is why the Church is depicted as moving out in widening circles of witness until, starting from Jerusalem, the flag of the Cross has been carried to the very citadel of first century civilisation and planted in Rome itself. Subsidiary and apologetic motives, e.g., the desire to show the friendliness of Rome and its government to the

¹ We see how the story narrows after a certain point, and becomes concerned solely with the work and fortunes of the Apostle Paul.

Christian movement in their earliest contact with it,¹ may have induced the prominence given by the historian to certain incidents in his narrative, but his main theme is the Church, passing from thought to act, and, by the range and quality of her actual triumphs, proving that her sense of universalism is no dream, but is inspired by the Spirit of God. It is not the details, but the drift of the campaign, its inner and compelling spirit, which Luke seeks to exhibit to us; and the inspiration of his narrative will depend, not upon its being absolutely free from any error in detail, but upon the extent to which the movement of events has been so truly and skilfully displayed that, as we read, we perceive within it the pulsations of the Spirit.

With the Fourth Gospel the problem is more complex, for there we have a life of Jesus differing in so many respects from that presented by the Synoptists that some critics, rejecting its historicity, have interpreted its incidents as allegories, and have dismissed its discourses as the free composition of the Evangelist rather than the reproduction of actual words of Jesus. A detailed discussion of this problem is impossible, but what must in any case be conceded is, in the first place, that the discourses of the Fourth Gospel represent reflections as well as reminiscences, the two having become

¹ Hence Luke is at pains to recount every contact of the Christian advocates with Roman officials, e.g., Paul with Sergius Paulus, the Philippian politarchs, Gallio, Felix, Festus, etc., Rome's attitude to the new movement as expressed through these men being invariably friendly. Some think that Luke wished to point the moral for the time at which he was actually writing, when Rome was changing from friendliness to hostility. Harnack's recent theory as to the early date of "Acts" would, if true, involve some modification of this view.

For a fuller discussion see St John and other N.T. Teachers, pp. 4-19.

inseparable through the long process of loving meditation which the sayings of Jesus had passed through in the mind of John; and, next, that events and discourses are so selected and arranged as to bring out and drive home a certain view of Christ's Person and work. This dogmatic purpose is openly confessed by the Evangelist,1 and is in other ways apparent. Hence the Fourth Gospel is an interpretation of Jesus, it gets behind outward events to their inner significance, it passes from history to theology. What we are made to see, therefore, is the Eternal Son existing in the Incarnate life under conditions of time, but even then manifesting to those who had eyes to see the radiant glory out of which He came and to which He finally returned. Such was the Christ whom this Evangelist was inspired, first, to see and, then, to portray. The doubts entertained in certain quarters as to the fidelity of his narrative to fact may appear to some people to destroy the truth of his theology, though this result by no means follows; 2 but, granting the truth of the Evangelist's portrait of Jesus, the solemn awe which stills us as the Christ of this Gospel passes with majestic step before us, and the commanding appeal He makes to us, are proof that the author wrought under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Into the Epistles and Apocalypse there is no need to enter beyond saying that, as literature—the phase of the New Testament which we are now considering—they preserve the stamp of individuality, the dif-

¹ John xx. 31.

² It might be shown, e.g., that though the Fourth Gospel supplies us with much that is new in both discourses and incidents, the sort of Christ whom this material pre-supposes and exhibits, corresponds to Jesus as pictured by the Synoptists. It is the same Christ coming to expression in a new way.

ferences, e.g., between the Pauline Epistles and that to the Hebrews or by James being sufficiently pronounced in terminology, ruling ideas, and modes of appeal as to make it impossible for one author to be confused with either of the others. We see, therefore, that in the New Testament, as in the Old, inspiration works for the expression, not the extinction, of personality, and a writer is not least, but most, himself when he is inspired. A much more important problem emerges when we consider the truth which the literature is intended to express. It is the New Testament from the point of view of revelation which we have here to examine. In so doing we need, in the first instance, to perceive certain distinctions in the essential content of the New Testament. For not only have we an historic revelation mediated through Jesus, but we have an expansion of that revelation consisting, partly, of its fuller interpretation, and, partly, of the application of its fundamental principles to problems of faith and conduct on which the Early Church needed instruction. In these varying phases of its content did the Holy Spirit behind the New Testament operate in the same way and to the same degree, so that Paul was as much inspired when he said, "Let the women keep silence in the churches," 1 and deprecated marriage, 2 as Jesus was when He spoke of the Fatherhood of God? And, as the corollary of this-for here we touch the point that is vital—is every element in the teaching of the New Testament equally true, and, therefore, equally final? Obviously that question could not arise if the old theory of verbal and mechanical inspiration held the field; but if, as the facts of the Bible have compelled us to believe, the inspired man is no passive agent of

¹ I Cor. xiv. 34. ² I Cor. vii. 8 f., 25 ff.

the Spirit, but co-operates with Him in a vital and active way, then we may expect that the product will reflect something of man—and, therefore, of the limitations of man—as well as of God. This view was sustained by the facts of the Old Testament. Can it find equal corroboration in the New?

Our answer must be derived from a faithful, if all too hurried, examination of the New Testament itself. In the Synoptic Gospels we see Jesus coming to the world with a great message concerning God which, if not new in the sense that the word "Father" had never been applied to God before, was new in the emphasis, range, and meaning 1 which Christ gave to that term. We see Him, through the utterance of this message and through works which were congruous with it, seeking to establish a new order which He calls "the kingdom of God," in which the Divine reign in grace over the hearts of men is in process of realisation. In the pursuit of that task, which Jesus interpreted in Messianic terms, He encountered an opposition which issued in the Cross -a death which, partly, because it came in the path of fidelity to His vocation, and, partly, because of the sense of His own worth to God, Jesus interpreted as an integral part of His work. That view was endorsed by His resurrection from the dead. When we add that the moral nature of Jesus moved all the while on the same high level as His words and works, and is perfectly congruous with them, it will be understood why we claim that the revelation brought by Jesus is to be sought not simply in His words, but in His Person and entire work from the manger to the Throne. Will it be main-

¹ Jesus made "Father" central and normative for the interpretation of God, deepened its ethical meaning, and made it relate not simply to the theocratic king or pious Israelites, but to man as man.

tained that such an historic revelation did not need to be followed by interpretation? Had it consisted simply of words, nothing more might have been needed afterwards than their clear explanation, and their application to new situations and problems. But if the revelation is in facts as well as words—and the inner consciousness of Jesus, as reflected in the Synoptists, affords evidence that He attached real significance to His Person and death 1—then the facts themselves had to be realised before any full interpretation of their meaning could be given, and not until that meaning had got

home was the revelation complete.2

Unlike, therefore, critics, such as Harnack and Sabatier, who reject as an unauthorised accretion to the Christian faith the dogmatic development of Christianity exhibited in the Epistles and Fourth Gospel, we maintain that a dogmatic development of some sort was to be expected, partly, from the nature of the Christian facts themselves, and partly, from the limitation imposed by circumstances upon the exposition of them by Jesus Himself. In defence of this position it may be urged that Christianity, as it appears in the Early Church, was from the first more than the personal religion of Jesus.3 The Gospel of the Apostolic Church had Jesus, not as its first preacher, but as its theme. This dogmatic stamp was impressed upon primitive Christianity by men who claim that their right to speak is grounded in an exceptional knowledge which has been furnished to them by the Holy Spirit. Such a

¹ This is worked out in detail by Dr. Denney in his Jesus and the Gospel, and by Dr. Forsyth (The Person and Place of Jesus Christ, Lect. iv.).

² See Dr. Forsyth, op. cit., p. 149.

³ A fuller statement of this and the points that follow will be found in Dr. Forsyth's work, Lect. VI.

claim, of course, is not the end of controversy, but when the men who make it are in other respects sane and balanced, a presumption is legitimate that their subjective impression corresponds with fact. Paul's explanation of the Gospel which he preached—its main elements are recited in I Cor. xv. 3, 4—is that he received it not from man, but "by revelation of Jesus Christ." 1 He prefaces particular expositions of Christian duty by such words as "I give charge, yet not I, but the Lord," 2 and his general attitude, in common with the other New Testament writers, is that of one who, instead of groping after truth, has reached Christian certitude. Moreover, this self-estimate was endorsed by the Church,3 for there those who framed the New Testament theology were regarded as speaking with authority and finality. The Spirit of God, as Dr. Forsyth has pointed out, was at work along two parallel lines, creating in response to faith the Church, in that men were being made conscious of a new life, and producing the New Testament, in that certain men by the gift of inspiration were being enabled to interpret in dogmatic terms Christ as He had been revealed in history and experience. The New Testament and the Church were parallel products of the same Spirit. It must not be forgotten, too, that a dogmatic interpretation of Christianity seemed required by the facts of religious experience. Having been led. on what they believed to be conclusive evidence, to hold that the Christ of the Cross had become the Christ

¹ Gal. i. 11, 12.

² I Cor. vii. 10. Cp. also I Thess. iv. 15. Moreover, Paul sometimes claims for his precepts the obedience due to Christ Himself (2 Cor. ii. 9; 2 Thess. ii. 15).

³ Apart from an attempt to foist semi-Gnostic speculations upon some churches, there seems, whilst there was much controversy as to legalism, to have been none as to the place and work of Christ.

of the Throne, and, to believe, therefore, that the Cross, as part of the career of Jesus, had a Divine purpose, men, as the result of their self-committal of faith, found new energies moving within them, and such transformations, inner and outer, flowing therefrom as amounted to "a new creation." Surely such an experience, because of its moral worth, must be allowed some weight in attesting the primary convictions out of which it grew, and the theology in which it issued!

Once more, it may be claimed that a dogmatic Christianity such as the New Testament supplies, seems compelled by the historic situation. Those who would confine Christianity to the teaching and example of Jesus need to ask themselves how the new faith so conceived could have survived the death of its Founder. If Christianity was to have a career at all, its first acceptance and consequent propagation lay with a race having such inherited and fixed ideas concerning the sort of death Jesus died, as, on the natural view, made faith in Him impossible. How could Jews believe in Jesus even as a prophet sent by God, when to them the Cross signified that He had died under the curse of God? Christianity, therefore, must have perished still-born but for the upbringing of a conviction that the death of Christ, instead of being an interruption of His career, was an integral part of it, and had vital relation to sin. So far, however, was that view from arising easily and spontaneously that, because of the difficulties of the situation, it had to be initiated by the startling conviction that Christ had been raised from the dead, and the seeming verdict of the Cross reversed by God. Christianity, therefore, being admittedly worthy to survive, and yet the historical conditions under which it began being such as to make its survival

dependent upon, in essence, such an interpretation of the work of Christ as the New Testament supplies, must not this interpretation be regarded as compelled by God, and, therefore, inspired and confirmed by God? Surely to deny this is to impeach the Providential guidance of the Christian movement in the first century! Nay, so serious would be the error into which, according to the view of men like Harnack and Wernle, the Church fell that it becomes difficult, especially since the error has persisted with no serious challenge through nineteen centuries, to see any Providence in the movement at all. More, therefore, is at stake than dogmatic Christianity; it is the character and reality of God Himself.

Hence, if on all these grounds we hold that Christ's Person and work had dogmatic significance, we may regard the Apostolic statement of that significance as inspired and credible. If a theory of Christ's death was, as we have seen, immediately necessary, we may expect that, when given, it will be in essence valid and permanent. Time, as Dr. Forsyth has shown, is not a determining element with a germ of revelation. For such a germ is a creative rather than a created fact, and "its purpose is not to be, but to be understood, to be answered; it is not to live on its environment, but to bless it." Consequently we may expect at once both effects which declare its quality, and an interpretation which, though necessarily cast into current forms of thought, is fundamentally correct. That Jesus was Redeemer and Lord was borne in upon the consciousness of the Early Church with a directness and a power that were the final assurance of its truth. Moreover, the primary convictions therein expressed

¹ Dr. Forsyth, op. cit., p. 150.

authenticated other and derived truths. With Jesus the primal and constructive element in all His thought is His conviction as to the fact and nature of God's Fatherhood and of man's sonship. We need not infer that other ideas which appear in His teaching were given to Him piecemeal and in isolation, for reflection shows that His doctrines of sin, of man's worth and immortality, of love as the core of righteousness, of the nature of salvation and worship, and of the broad principles and issues of judgment, are all logical deductions from that primary conviction, and share, therefore, in its spiritual authentication. So also with Paul it is interesting to note how wide is the field of duty which he surveys from the point of view of the Cross, finding in the principle which the Cross expressed a norm of religious life and action. In this way the New Testament in its fundamental conceptions may be held to reflect the mind of the Spirit and to be authoritative for faith.

More than that, however, we cannot say, for we are not necessarily bound in every detail to the Apostolic presentation of dogma. The inspiration of the New Testament writers has its human side, in that the Holy Spirit operated in men whose minds were already preoccupied with certain ideas and even systems of thought with which, in their detailed formulation of Christian truth, they seek to assimilate their fundamental convictions concerning Christ and His work. Hence the Christology and Soteriology, of St. Paul are not exactly the same as those we find in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews comes to the death of Christ by way of the ritual of the Law, Paul by way of its moral demands. Moreover, the Cross is as central to the

Pauline theology as the Incarnation is to that of John. Paul's rabbinism is reflected in some of his ideas and arguments, e.g., in the belief that physical death was the result of sin,1 that the Law was mediated by angels,2 and that the rock from which Moses drew water in the wilderness followed the Israelites in their wanderings, and was to be identified with Christ.3 The Fourth Gospel, again, moves in another thought-realm, and is, as attested by its terminology, an attempt to translate Christian ideas and experience into the language of that Gentile world with which John was in immediate contact.4 In these theological formulations the New Testament writers felt themselves to be inspired. Indeed, so far as the Fourth Gospel is concerned, this is very vividly expressed, for though the truth is set forth there in a form which admittedly owes much to John himself, the whole is presented as if spoken by Jesus Himself, and legitimately so presented from the standpoint of the Evangelist, since he regarded the contents of his Gospel as the message which the Risen Christ was seeking to utter through him to the world. But because it came through him, it exhibits traces of John, a child of his age, as well as of the eternal Christ, and allowance, in John or Paul, has to be made for the human factor as well as for the Divine. A distinction, therefore, needs to be drawn between Biblicism and Evangelism, i.e., between the Biblical theology and those elements in it which belong to the permanent body of saving truth. That distinction can more easily be made if we remember the essential difference between revelation and theology. Revelation embraces those truths, large and simple in character, which appeal

¹ Rom. v. 12.
² Gal. iii. 19.
³ I Cor. x. 4.
⁴ See St. John and other N.T. Teachers, pp. 10-19.

directly to the moral personality, and whose authentication lies, partly, in the coercive nature of their appeal, and, partly, in the practical verification which any attempt to live by them supplies. It is thus that the Fatherhood of God, the Lordship of Jesus, and God's redeeeming grace in the Cross vindicate themselves to the conscience and heart. They represent convictions which are not so much won by man as "freely given" to him by God. On them, therefore, any enlightened spiritual consciousness is competent to pronounce. But theology represents a formulation of them and of the experience which they create in terms of ideas which belong either to a particular thinker or to his age. Dogma, therefore, is always relative; it simply brings up to date the rational statement of the truths of faith. Revelation is morally conditioned; it is not for the "wise" or the "natural" man, but for the "spiritual," the simple-hearted and devout. But theology, in bringing out the implications of revealed truth for the universe and man, and for human progress and destiny, makes this large synthesis by rational processes, and draws its material from every source which, when examined by the reason, appears to throw light upon the nature and operation of God. Hence the scientific interpretation of the universe, the reflection of God's Providential government in individual and national experience, the ideals and modes of human progress cherished in current thought, the explanation by philosophy of the reality lying behind phenomena, the political and social conditions of the time, all enter into any large theological construction of the Christian faith. And because these materials are constantly, through the growth of knowledge, being

¹ As St. Paul teaches in I Cor. ii. 10-15.

modified or enlarged, the theological construction to which they have contributed requires modification too. It is this fact which makes theology such a living science. The question is sometimes asked whether inspiration, so far as it relates to religious truth, is to be found outside the New Testament. The answer depends upon what particular sphere of inspiration we have in view. If it be revelation, we think it may be argued that the fundamental convictions of our faith were all apprehended by the Christians of the first century, and are incorporated in the Scriptures which they have bequeathed to us. But the interpretation and application of those convictions are another thing. There the Holy Spirit which operated in the first century has also passed beyond it—the very history of dogma is the proof. For all truth is inspired, and all history has God in it, and the latest century, therefore, as well as the first, has something to contribute towards the interpretation of the Christian faith. Nothing is sacred merely because of the accident of time. Dogma is no more final truth because it belongs to the third century than because it belongs to the sixteenth or eighteenth. The only dogmatic construction that could hope to be final would be one that was shaped with final knowledge. Such knowledge inspiration never anticipates; it can only help men to use it rightly when it has actually come.

¹ Whilst recognising that God has to do with all truth we can feel, since living is more important than knowing, that religious truth deserves to be regarded as inspired in a unique degree. Moreover, whatever value and, therefore, inspiration, religious teachers like Buddha, Confucius, etc., may have had, Christ transcends them in the quality and finality of His message. He, too, has the note of originality, and thus differs from men of genius like Shakespeare, Bunyan, etc., who, when they enforce moral truths, are simply echoes, not original voices.

And in what realm shall we be daring enough to say that even now it has arrived? Do we even understand as yet, so as to have reached finality there, the essential message of the Bible? Have not the criticism and discoveries of the last half-century, in the flood of illumination which they have cast upon the Scriptures, illustrated in a wonderful fashion the truth of Pastor Robinson's dictum: "God has more light yet to break out of His word"? Is evolution, which has so profoundly modified scientific theory concerning man and universe, to have no reaction upon the theologian's view of Him, who, being the God of both nature and grace, may at least be presumed to work in both realms by similar laws? And what shall be said, too, concerning changes in philosophy, and the new humanitarianism which is evident in our social ideals? Surely all these things are meant by the Holy Spirit to enter as factors into any dogmatic construction of the primal and revealed facts of our faith which is to be valid for the present age!

And if it be urged that thus to allow the play of modern forces may mean not simply the modified expression, but also the correction, as imperfect or even mistaken, of certain things which once formed part of an authoritative interpretation, one can only answer that theology, viewed as a science, is not exempt from the conditions which attend scientific development in general, viz., that progress may mean loss as well as growth. We see how in the case of Jesus the perfectly informed spiritual consciousness with which He came to the determination of truth enabled him, as regards not simply "the traditions of the elders," but the Law itself, to enlarge in some cases, and even to annul in others, moral precepts in which the earlier revela-

tion of God had found expression.1 Christ's attitude to the existing products of revelation was both critical and constructive, even as is the attitude of Liberal Judaism towards the Law to-day. We who believe that in Jesus viewed as Teacher and Saviour revelation has reached its climax, may hold, in consequence, that to the revelation itself time has nothing to add, and yet may be profoundly convinced that, as regards the interpretation and application of that revelation, we are learning much even now, and have much still to learn. What else is the meaning of "the return to Christ," the more vivid sense of the Divine Fatherhood, which has transformed theology during the last thirty years? The fact is that it is truth alone which is sacrosanct and eternal, not its time-expression, because that is determined by the concepts, some only of passing value, with which a particular age seeks to assimilate truth. Hence we are justified in assuming a critical attitude towards certain ideas of even the New Testament itself. We, knowing the current conditions or conceptions which gave rise to it, may not feel committed to St. Paul's teaching as to marriage, or the place of women in the Church, or the relation of physical death to sin; or we may feel that the gulf which St. John places between the Church and "the world "is too wide to represent the final truth.

Much more is a like critical attitude justifiable towards the theological formulations of later days. It is possible to have a patristic or a mediæval mind, in the sense that an exaggerated deference is paid to the opinions of the Fathers and the Schoolmen. Yet by what magic process were they lifted out of the limitations of their time? What reason is there in the nature of things

¹ Matt. v. 21, 27 f., 33 ff., 43 ff.; Mark vii. 13.

why Origen or Augustine should have a weight which is denied to Calvin or Arminius? When we perceive how much Greek philosophy had to do with shaping the terminology and definitions of the Early Church, one would ask whether the movement of philosophy through Spinoza, Kant and Hegel has had no revising significance for our cognition of the Christian realities? Surely that can only be if those thinkers have simply left philosophy where they found it! What one, therefore, must protest against, as both misinterpreting the work of the Holy Spirit in the past and ignoring His operation in the present, is that view of theology which would reduce it to the study of Christian antiquities. The great Fathers and Apologists of the early centuries did a most valuable work, but it is false reverence to their memory to speak as if the Spirit wrought in them in some special way in which He is not active now. If that be claimed, one is entitled to ask why, and to receive something more convincing than a reminder that that was the period of "the undivided Church." Surely the Holy Spirit who was in those early centuries has moved beyond them; He is with all sincere Christian thinkers to-day. A man may revisit those early days, but he need not abide in them as if they were necessarily and finally authoritative for faith. Our business is to go back, in the first instance, to Christ and to the historic revelation which He declared and achieved, then to the Apostolic interpretation of that revelation, and, next, to all the illumination which the passing centuries, early and late, have flung upon God's final "Word" to us in Christ.1

¹ The truth is greater than man's first understanding of it, and subsequent reflection has the right to fill out that first impression. All that must be postulated is that the facts of the revelation shall

But recognising, as we must, how that process has been coloured by temporary phases of thought and incidental controversies, we are bound to go back to all past dogmatic interpretations of our faith, even to the great symbols of Nicæa and Chalcedon, with a reverence that is mingled with criticism, in the sense that we refuse to hold anything as true which cannot live in the full blaze of all the light which nineteen centuries have brought. It is not for the present to justify itself to the past, but for the past to vindicate itself in the present. Truth can only live by being progressive and free.

The preceding discussion has had in view chiefly the formulation of revealed truth in terms of dogma or its application to ethical problems as these arose from time to time. It has contemplated the way in which the Holy Spirit has made a past revelation living for thought and conduct in the present. But the future, too, has always, and especially in certain emergencies, been of great interest to man, and it is no surprise to us, therefore, to learn that the New Testament deals to some extent with prediction. The Eschatology of the New Testament is wholly concerned with the future, viz., with that group of events, including resurrection and judgment, which gathers round the Return of Christ, and the ensuing and dramatic establishment of the perfect rule of God. Similarly, the Apocalypse is a prophecy setting forth by the aid of a curious symbolism what were to be the issues of the conflict in which

be adequate to their final interpretation, i.e., that the historic Jesus in the quality of His personality and action shall be such that the final interpretation of Him shall be felt to be, not only not incongruous with the basal facts, but simply the emergence in thought of what He had been in reality all the while. The historic Jesus must be seen to be great enough to wear the robes with which later reflection arrays Him.

the Church was at the moment engaged with the Roman power. When we ask how inspiration related itself to this outlook upon the future, we see that in the New Testament, as in the Old, the Holy Spirit did not enable men to anticipate the future with a photographic exactness. His gift to them consisted of certain fundamental principles or convictions, e.g., that God would see to the triumph of His cause or the deliverance of His people. In the application of these to the historic situation not only, as was usual with prophecy, was the perspective fore-shortened, so that the issue was expected sooner than it actually came to pass, but the issue itself, so far as its processes were concerned, was cast into a mould provided by the speculation of the time. The apocalyptic view, which regarded progress as brought about by a crisis due to the dramatic, unaided, and supernatural intervention of God, was the only mould in which any theory concerning the future seemed able to express itself in the first century of our faith. That was for various reasons the only philosophy of history or scheme of progress which reflection was able to provide. We, however, taught, as we believe, by time and the Holy Spirit Himself, that apocalyptic, while true, is not the whole truth, that God works by evolution as well as by revolution, and with man as well as for him, can see why New Testament predictions did not always come to pass exactly after the fashion which had been forecasted. We can understand why, e.g., there was not a visible Return of Jesus such as Christians were expecting all through the first century, and why persecuting Rome did not perish at the hands of Nero redivivus, as the Book of the Revelation

On this question see the discussion of the Apocalypse in St. John and other New Testament Writers, pp. 90-111, and especially pp. 109-111.

seems to expect.¹ Where the outlook upon the future is concerned, a human and time-element qualifies the product of inspiration, so that, whilst the declaration concerning issues, spiritually understood, is abidingly true, the mode in which it is imagined that they will be brought to pass, coloured, as it is, by the imperfection of human thought, may need in course of time to be

supplemented and even superseded.

Finally, our conception of the Holy Spirit as the Inspirer of Christian truth must leave room for the action of the individual, the prophetic or theological pioneer. History has shown again and again that truth, instead of being given to the Church in some diffused and mystic way, has first been the property of one man, and through him has finally become the heritage of all. The Holy Spirit has not always begun with bishops or Councils or Conferences. No! the Spirit "bloweth where it listeth," and we can never tell whence it will come breathing upon the Church. "The highest article of Christian orthodoxy once found no stronghold except in one deacon of the church of Alexandria; but St. Athanasius, deacon though he was, possessed an authority which neither a Constantine nor a Eusebius might usurp." 1 We must believe; of course, that any individual presentation of the Christian faith, if true, will gradually, though not necessarily without prolonged conflict and intense opposition, commend itself to a wider circle, and finally be endorsed by the authority of the Church; though, when we speak of the Church as confirming the truth of a theology, we mean neither any one denomination nor all Christians, but simply those followers of Jesus who, by reason of both spiritual refinement and intellectual equipment, are competent

¹ Welldon, The Revelation of the Holy Spirit, p. 356.

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to pronounce upon any rational formulation of Christian truth. Along these lines of ordered progress the Holy Spirit, whilst preserving the original treasure, mints it afresh for each succeeding age, so that the truth is old like the sun, and yet new as the light.

CHAPTER XII

Problems and Duties

It may seem to be a singular omission from the preceding discussions that no reference has been made to the baptismal formula which is attributed to Jesus in the closing verses of Matthew's Gospel. There, apart from one or two allusions in the Pauline Epistles,1 notably the benediction in 2 Cor. xiii. 14, and from the salutation in I Peter i. 2, we have the simplest and clearest statement of the Trinitarian conception of God. It would be interesting if we were able to carry back that view to some undoubted utterance of Jesus Himself. The saying, however, in Matt. xxviii. 19 presents several historical and exegetical difficulties. Certain critics,2 on the strength of the form in which the passage is found quoted in Eusebius, have urged that the original reading in Matthew was "Go and make disciples of all the nations in My name," the reference to baptism in the Truine Name being an interpolation which was inserted in the text after the Council of Nicæa. A critical examination of Eusebius, however, both as regards his general treatment of Scripture and his references to this Matthæan passage in particular, disposes

¹ We may include 1 Cor. xii. 4 ff.

² F. C. Conybeare (*Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1902) and Prof. Lake. Their contentions, together with the evidence of Eusebius, have been examined with great fulness and shown to be unsound by Dr. Chase (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. VI., p. 481 fl.).

of that theory. Moreover, the disputed words are found in all the MSS. and Versions of the first Gospel which are at present known to us. We may conclude, therefore, with some confidence that they belong to the original text. A further question, however, and one not so easily determined, is whether the words were actually spoken by Jesus, or represent, on the other hand, as many scholars maintain, a form of words put into the mouth of Jesus by the Evangelist as being, in the light of subsequent events, what it was appropriate for Jesus to say on the occasion described. It is undeniable that conditions existing in the Church in Apostolic times have in a few instances coloured the report of other sayings of Jesus.1 Are they not, therefore, so it is asked, responsible also for the Trinitarian reference in this commission to baptise? The answer must turn in part upon the exegesis of the passage, for the preposition used in the original 2 has led to the translations "baptising them in the name," and "baptizing them into the name," the latter rendering, which is that of the Revisers, inducing Bishop Westcott to say, with an exaggerated sense of its value, that he would gladly have given ten years of his life to the work of revision had that been the only change in which it resulted. But later and more careful investigation of usages, both in the New Testament and elsewhere, compels the conclusion that the Revisers have put upon the preposition in this phrase a meaning which it is unlikely to have borne, and the older rendering," baptizing them in the name," is the one, therefore,

Possible instances are Matt. iii. 15, v. 32, vii. 15, and others.

² The Greek is εls τὸ ὅνομα.

³ The problem, from the standpoint of the language, is discussed with every great carefulness by Dean Robinson (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. VII., p. 186 ff.).

which is to be preferred. Even then we need to ask what was the precise association of "the Name" with baptism. It would seem from various passages in the New Testament 1 that baptism, as the rite of initiation into Christian fellowship, involved a two-fold recognition of "the Name," in that there was a confession of it, i.e., an awoved acceptance of the Christian faith and life, on the part of the baptized, and an invocation of it on the part of the baptizer. It is to the latter phase of the rite, i.e., the use of "The Name" by those who baptize, that the reference in Christ's final commission is confined, the conclusion which seems to follow being that, according to instructions left by Jesus Himself, "the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" was to be invoked over all who sought entrance through baptism unto the Church, the One Name suggesting the unity which underlay the Triune manifestation of God.

But when the exegetical problem is thus solved, that associated with historical usage remains. For whilst baptism is spoken of in the story of the Early Church as being "in the name of Jesus Christ," or "in the name of the Lord Jesus," other passages showing also that the name of Christ was the symbol of Christian fellowship, we find no association of the Trinitarian formula with baptism before that early Christian document known as The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. It may, therefore, be true that Matthew's phrasing,

¹ Dean Robinson (p. 194) cites Acts xxii, 16, 1 Cor. vi. 11, Eph. v. 26, Rom. x. 9, as having this meaning or reference.

² Acts ii. 38. x. 48.

⁸ Acts viii. 16, xix. 5.

⁴ I Cor. i. 2, 10.

⁵ Dated about the end of the 1st century. The baptismal formula in the Matthæan form is found twice in Ch. VII., though in Ch. IX. we have the phrase, "baptized in the name of the Lord."

whilst indubitable evidence for the use of the Trinitarian formula in baptism by the Church from about the year 70 A.D. onwards, is no sure guarantee that it can be traced to the authority of Jesus, since His words, if we are to judge from the practice ascribed to the Apostolic Church, may have been simply "baptizing them in My name." In any case, however, the point at issue is not of vital importance. For, valuable as any saying coming from Jesus must be, His great bequest to the world was not so much the words He had spoken as the experience He had created. The two things, of course,-the words and the work-are not unrelated to each other, but Jesus the Saviour is something more than Jesus the Teacher. The developed faith of the Church, as reflected in the Epistles, had its roots in experience. It was not the formulation of a tradition or the product of speculation, but the outgrowth of life. The experience of redemption meant that to those early Christians "the love of God," coming to perfect manifestation in "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ," had been experimentally realised through "the communion of the Holy Spirit." Each of the operations so described was felt to be Divine. The Church, worshipping the Divine Father, knew that it had been redeemed by the Divine Son, and was the home of a Divine Spirit. Each separate manifestation was of the same quality and power. For this reason the writers of the New Testament, whilst making no attempt to show how they reconciled such conceptions with their inherited monotheism, speak of Christ and the Spirit in such a way as to demand that they belong to the Divine order, and must be included in what a Christian means when he speaks of "God." It is quite

true, as Dr. Swete affirms,1 that the Christology of the New Testament is more advanced than its Pneumatology. The separate personality of the Spirit, even in those passages where He is something more than an Influence or an Energy, is not so clearly realised as is that of Christ. Invocations of the Spirit in prayer,² or hymns addressed to the Spirit, of which later in the Church the Veni, Creator Spiritus became a type, are foreign to the usage of the Apostolic age. Even salutations such as "Grace to you and peace from God the Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ," 3 do not add "and from the Holy Spirit," though Dr. Moberly,4 with an unconvincing acuteness, finds in the words, "to you" a tacit reference to the Spirit as making real and effective the grace and peace which are invoked. The truth is that the threefold conception of God, as reflected in the New Testament, lingers within that domain of experience where it had its birth. It is an experimental, not a dogmatic, presentation of the Holy Spirit which Paul furnishes; and even John, who may claim to be the most theological of the New Testament writers, is controlled more by the facts of experience than by the speculative ideas whose vocabulary he borrows.5 The conditions were not ripe, nor as yet was the desire felt by the Church, for a scientific formulation of its doctrine of God.

Nor was such a formulation an early product of the post-Apostolic age. To pursue the investigation with any detail is impossible, and even unprofitable. It is sufficient to point out that, in such literature as the

1 The Holy Spirit in the N.T., p. 293.

² The Father and the Son are united in prayer, as in 1 Thess. iii. 11, but the Holy Spirit is never associated with them.

³ Gal. i. 3.

⁴ Atonement and Personality, p. 194.
⁵ See St. John and other N.T. Teachers, pp. 17, 30, 40.

and century has bequeathed to us, the Holy Spirit receives scanty recognition. Moreover, it is the work of the Spirit rather than the theology of His Person which, judging from the nature of the allusions, is the main subject of thought.1 On the speculative side there was a considerable amount of haziness. Greek philosophy tended to arrest that distinction of the Spirit from the Logos which had resulted from the experience of the Apostolic Church. Hence we find the Holy Spirit identified with Wisdom, and Wisdom with the Logos, whilst, along with the use of the Trinitarian formula, we find invocations in which the Father and the Son alone are addressed.2 "In the Epistle of Polycarp, in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, and in the Epistle to Diognetus, there is not a single reference to the Holy Spirit; and the functions elsewhere ascribed to it are referred to Jesus Christ."3 Now it may be true that this relegation of the Spirit to the background was due, partly, to the dominant interest in problems of Christology, which tended to obscure any consideration of the Person and place of the Holy Spirit, and, partly also, to the inability of the notion of the Spirit to affiliate itself with any of the ruling ideas of the philosophy of the time. But it was due also to an imperfect grasp of Apostolic teaching and to a lowered spiritual temperature within the Church. It might seem to us as though one of the convictions most securely won was the Pauline contention that the supreme work of the Spirit lay in the normal and continuous ethicising of Christian life. Yet it suggests

3 Mansfield College Essays, p. 302.

¹ See the analysis supplied by Winstanley, Spirit in the N.T.,

² E.g., Ep. Clem. 58; Ep. Polycarp, Address, and c. 12.

how slowly great truths may come to their rightful supremacy when, in the writings of the sub-Apostolic Age, we see the Holy Spirit associated mainly with the Scriptures or the gift of prophecy, whilst only in Hermas. a document somewhat unique in type, have we any trace of the important conception of St. Paul. The inevitable result was that, when an effort was made to revive the Apostolic experience of the Spirit, all that was achieved was the extravagances of Montanism. That movement, arising in Mysia, about the year 160 A.D., cultivated ecstasies and prophesying and "tongues," believing that in these secondary and largely artificial phenomena it exhibited the supreme gifts of the Spirit. Montanism died down, as it deserved to do, but the Church had no vital experience of the Spirit of sufficient power to emancipate her from the fetters imposed on her thought by Greek philosophy.1 The result was that the Holy Spirit, especially in Alexandrian thought, tended to become merged in the Son, or to be spoken of as if, in His relations to the Son, He were a created being. On these grounds the Greek theology has been pronounced as "not really Trinitarian, but Dualitarian," since the Spirit is reduced to a shadowy under-study of the Logos. The Sabellian heresy, treating Father, Son and Spirit as simply three manifestations of one Divine Being, brought Tertullian to the front in the West with an assertion of the true Deity of both the Son and the Spirit. But controversial interest still gathered mainly round the Person of Christ, and hence, when the contention of Arius that the Son and the Spirit were not consubstantial with the Father, but were subordinate to God, led to the assembling of the Council of Nicæa,2 so completely did Christological

¹ See Mansfield College Essays, p. 303 f.

interest overshadow the doctrine of the Spirit that the Nicene Creed, when first issued, whilst enlarging on the dogma of the Son, dismissed that of the Spirit in the phrase, "and in the Holy Spirit," following in that brevity of statement the Apostles' Creed. It was the statement of Arius, made before the Council of Nicæa closed, and taken up subsequently, under Macedonius, by the Semi-arians, who, while accepting the Deity of the Son, rejected that of the Spirit, which led to controversy being turned definitely towards the dogmatic conception of the Spirit, the protagonists on the orthodox side being Athanasius and Basil. The result was that at the Council of Constantinople 1 the Nicene Creed was so far amended as to describe the Holy Spirit as "the Lord, the Life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father, who with Father and Son is together worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets." What will probably be felt, however, is that this statement, whilst truly inspired as regards the errors which it definitely rules out of the Christian faith, leaves something to be desired as to the exposition and justification of the positive content of that faith. There are still many thoughtful people who readily accept the Personality of the Holy Spirit, since He represents to them the realised presence and operation of a Personal God,2 but who have difficulty in conceiving His separate Personality with that clearness of outline which belongs to their realisation of the Personality of the Son. The philosophical construction inherited from Augustine, in which, while the Father and the Son are conceived

Dr. Swete (The Holy Spirit in the N.T., p. 291) quotes I. V. Wood as saying: "Certainly it was personal, for God is personal," but rightly adds that "the question is whether the N.T. represents the Spirit qua Spirit as personal,"

as subject and object, the Spirit is regarded as constituting their unity through being the bond of Love between them, is scarcely satisfactory, since, on that view, the Spirit, instead of being a related Person, is practically a relation, and so tends to be construed impersonally. As Dr. Illingworth says, "A personal object is easier to imagine than a personal relation." Hegel's notion of the Trinity as being involved essentially in thought itself and its movement through Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis, has had much influence on subsequent speculation. The ideal presentation of the Christian view of God, however, has yet to be made, and the thinker who is gifted enough to produce it will render an incalculable service to the Evangelical faith.

Mediæval developments in the doctrine of the Spirit need not detain us, not even the discussion as to whether the "Procession" of the Spirit was from the Son as well as the Father, which had as its miserable product the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.1 Some recent problems are of interest, e.g., the relation of the Holy Spirit to God viewed as immanent. If we regard the Spirit as God in the forth-going of His life and power, it may be said that the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is identical with the immanence of God. It may seem, at first, as though some modification of this statement is required when it is applied to man, since the immanence of God is a fact of nature which is unconditioned by the attitude of man. But this does not mean that the manifestation of the immanent God, or every phase of manifestation, is unconditioned.

3 Circ. 1050 A.D.

¹ See Forrest, The Christ of History and Experience, p. 210.

² Personality, Human and Divine, popular Edition, p. 41.

Room is still left, therefore, for that ethical response of man to the indwelling God which renders possible His manifestation in those specific Christian experiences which thought has been accustomed to associate with the Holy Spirit. Their adequate explanation, as we saw in our discussion of Pentecost, is that they are the more impressive manifestation, through the provision by man of suitable conditions, of a spiritual Presence which has never been absent from the world, and has always been operative in the being of man.

Speculation has also been concerned with the region in our nature where the indwelling Spirit has His home, and the view has recently been put forward by Dr. Sanday 2 that it is in the subliminal area of consciousness that the Divine in Jesus and the Spirit within ordinary men are to be located. Comparing the two levels of psychic life to the "finely pointed needle on the face of a dial," he says: "The really important thing is not the index, but the weight or the pressure that moves the index. And that, in the case of moral character and religious motive, is out of sight, down in the lowest depths of personality." 3 Now there is no difficulty in believing that the human spirit is capable of penetration by the Divine, and we have already urged 4 as an explanation of the phenomena of conversion that the Divine indwelling includes the permeation of the sub-conscious region of our being. The question is whether, as Dr. Sanday seems to contend, that region is the peculiar home of the Spirit as being, when compared with the normal region of consciousness, a worthier receptacle of the Divine, and whether

¹ P. 135 ff.

In his Christologies, Ancient and Modern.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 158.

⁴ P. 236 ff.

it is thence that His incursions are made into our conscious life. Tempting as that view is it needs to be looked at with caution.1 The great difficulty, so far as its application to ordinary men is concerned, is that it disparages our normal mental life in comparison with a dimly-lit world of imperfect memories and inchoate dispositions, which, after all, only have serviceable existence when they emerge from that lower region and enter as factors into our conscious life. Is that under-world more akin to the Divine than the developed life of consciousness? If that be so, how shall we explain that it is in love, holiness, wisdom, i.e., in activities and qualities which belong to our upper and conscious life, that man has detected the truest affinity between himself and God? Surely it is not in what is, after all, simply the potentially conscious, not the actually so, that we must discern the special dwellingplace of the Divine within us, unless the operation of the Spirit upon man is to be viewed as more magical than vital !

But the settlement of these and other problems, speculative in nature, is not our main obligation to the Holy Spirit. The ground over which we have travelled has been trodden in vain, if it has not been clearly seen that the fact that we have any doctrine of the Spirit at all is due to there having been an experience of the Spirit. Experience came before speculation, and whilst the latter is bound to continue, it is for us to see that the experience continues too. It was for purposes of life rather than thought that the Holy Spirit was given, and pitiable indeed shall we be if, whilst we are acute enough to understand and interpret

¹ See Prof. H. R. Mackintosh's discussion of it in *Expository Times*, Vol. XXI., p. 553 ff.

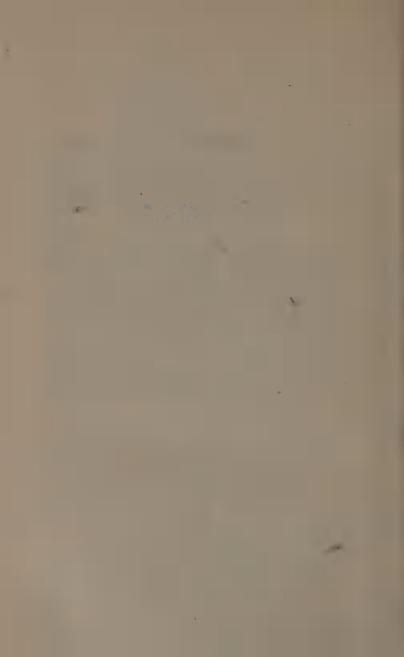
as never before the operation of the Spirit in Apostolic and other days, we have no corresponding experience of His presence within ourselves to-day. After all, our first duty to the Holy Spirit is not to comprehend Him, but to receive Him, to provide the conditions suitable for His full manifestation in our work and life. The picture which is afforded to us in the New Testament is that of a Spirit-filled Church. In its worship, the formulation of its doctrines and the growth of its institutions, its whole witness to, and impact upon, the world, as well as in the religious life of its individual members, the Church of the first century testified to the Divineness of the power which wrought at her heart. Needing to know the truth of which she was the steward the Church was led, through the sanctification of her learning, to such an understanding of her Lord and His work as was required for the conditions of the time, whilst the edification of the Church was provided for by the gift of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and teachers. Even ecclesiastical government became a channel of inspiration when men were regarded as designated to the diaconate or apostolate by the Holy Spirit, and the decision of a Church Council was realised as something in which the Holy Spirit had part. Moreover, the blossoming out of life into new activities, and the sudden upspringing, in a soil that in itself was not too friendly to such a growth, of charity, benevolence and mutual helpfulness such as amazed the pagan world, suggest, amid much that was imperfect, that a new and surprising dynamic had begun to operate in the souls of Jew and Gentile, bond and free. And most wonderful of all was the temper in which all the work of the Church was done, the atmosphere in which its life was spent. Again and again are we told of the

"boldness" with which those early evangelists proclaimed the Word, as if they realised not simply the truth, but the worth and authority, of their message, whilst in religious experience the dominant note is joy, the sense of an abundant grace filling and irradiating life. "Pressed on every side, yet not straitened," "as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things"—it is to such exultant notes as these, the strains of a perpetual *Te Deum*, that those primitive saints went marching.

For our own religious well-being, as well as for the sake of our witness to the world, there is nothing more urgently needed than that we should revive those spacious days of the Spirit. These modern times have brought to us a rich argosy of learning in the new light which from many sources has been cast upon Divine revelation, and it is not for any Church to despise this, or to imagine that a ministry insufficiently equipped can be in these days an adequate vehicle for the Spirit. Nevertheless, the minister needs to be quickened, as well as informed, to have his life nourished at hidden springs, and his nature so kindled by the Divine splendours of his message that there shall be glow, passion, conviction in the preaching of the Word. And in the organisation of the Church and its detailed government can we not believe in, and make room for, the operation of the Holy Spirit? Would not our Congresses, and Councils, and Conferences, to say nothing of the business meetings of each local church, move, on a higher plane of discussion and decision, if it was felt that there to-day, as in the morning of the Church, it was not only possible but obligatory that the Holy Spirit should come to new expression? And in Christian experience we need to go back to those early days and

"Recapture That first, fine, careless rapture."

The crying needs of the world, the softening of old antipathies, the new doors of wonderful opportunity which in mysterious ways are opening before the Church in heathen lands, the perils which threaten the older civilisations, all demand a Church which not only knows her message and mission, but has opened her heart to that inflow of Divine Power by which her Gospel shall become the challenge and salvation of the world, and nothing within the scope of the Divine purpose shall be impossible. It is not in God, but in ourselves that we are straitened; and the Church will learn this when, welcoming everything that can bring grace or worth, she seeks as her crowning equipment the full manifestation, first, within her and, then, through her, of that Spirit without whom nothing is pure or strong, but in whom and with whom the Church of Christ can fulfil the perfect will of her Lord.



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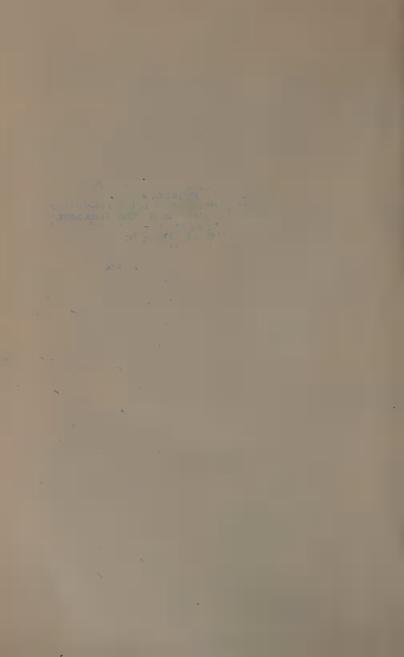
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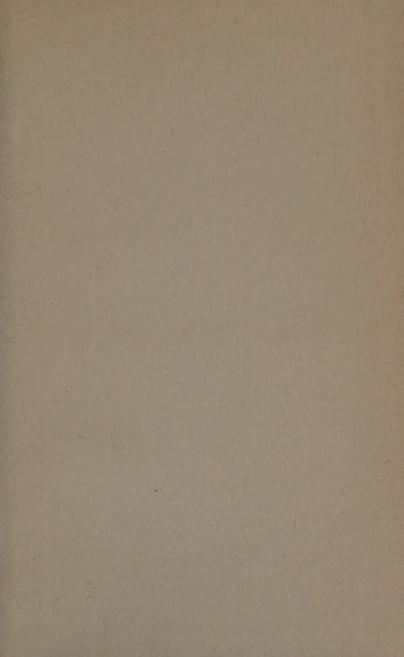
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